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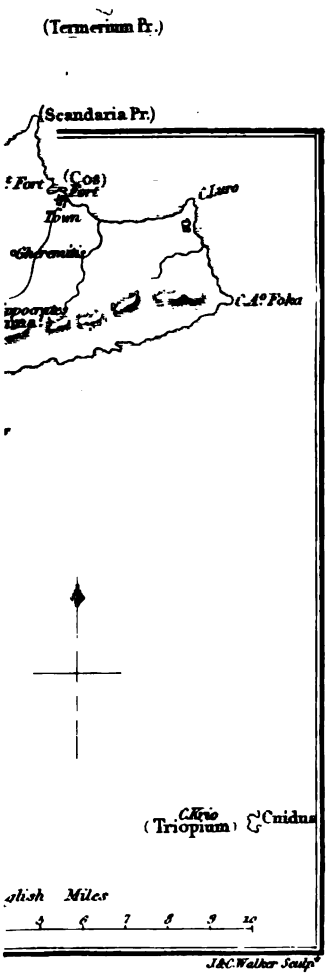
(Termerium Pr.)
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(Cos)
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J.&C.Walker Sculp.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF LITERATURE.

I.—MEMOIR ON THE ISLAND OF COS.

BY W. MARTIN LEAKE, ESQ., F.R.S.

(Read January, 1840.)

THE accompanying inscriptions were transmitted to me by Lieutenant Graves, commander of Her Majesty's surveying vessels on the coast of Asia Minor. They were copied by Lieutenant Helpman, one of the officers under his command, while employed in surveying the island of Cos. A geographical sketch of the same island, reduced from a large map by the same officers, is appended also to the present communication, by permission of Captain Beaufort, Her Majesty's hydrographer. The inscriptions concur with the new delineation in illustrating the ancient geography and history of this island, one of the most renowned of that beautiful chain which covers the western shore of Asia Minor.

It was a tradition, generally believed among the Greeks, that a Pelasgic colony from Thessaly occupied Cos, Cnidus, and Halicarnassus, as early as

the fourteenth century before the Christian æra.[1] Descendants of the Thessalians of Cos were engaged in the expedition against Troy, where they were opposed to some of their neighbours of Caria.[2] Secure in their insular position, these colonists in the next generation afforded a refuge to their continental kinsmen, when the latter were obliged to retire before the warlike Carians into the adjacent islands. Cos, on this occasion, received Merops, son of Triopas, founder of the Triopian Cnidus,[3] and preserved the memory of this migration in the name Meropis, which was often employed as that of the island.[4] Not long after the Trojan war, Halicarnassus, Myndus, Cnidus, Rhodus, and Cos, were augmented by a Doric colony from the Peloponnesus, which caused this part of Asia Minor to bear ever afterwards the name of Doris.[5] Cos then became a member of the Doric Hexapolis,—which, when Halicarnassus had been excluded, became a Pentapolis, and had a periodical meeting at Triopium, similar to that of the twelve Ionian cities at Panionium.[6] Cos, like many other Greek states which afterwards became republican, was, in the earlier period of its history, governed by monarchs: one of these was named Chalcon;[7] two others were Scythas and his son Cadmus, of the latter of whom Herodotus relates that he resigned his

[1] Callim. Hymn. ad Cerer. 24 seq. Diodor. 5, 61. Apollon. Rhod. ap. Stephan. in Δώτιον. Strabo, p. 653. Pausan. Phocic. 11, 1.

[2] Iliad. B. 677. 867.

[3] Diodor. 5, 53. 61. Stephan. in Κῶς, Μέροψ, Ἀραί. Pausan. loc. cit.

[4] Thucyd. 8, 41. Strabo, pp. 686. 701. Callim. H. ad Del. v. 160.

[5] Thucyd. 7, 57. Strabo, p. 653.

[6] Herodot. 1, 144.

[7] Theocr. Idyl. 7, 6.

authority and retired to Sicily, where he lived in favour at the court of Gelon, who sent him to Greece, to make terms with Xerxes, in case the latter should be successful in his invasion.[8] Soon after the time of Cadmus the Athenians obtained that naval supremacy, which gave them paramount influence in Cos with little interruption for a long course of years, and which, as well here as in other places similarly situated, was adverse to a monarchical government. The title of *μοναρχὸς*, however, was still employed at Cos in the time of Hippocrates,[9] and, if we may judge from the appearance of Inscription No. XIV., to a much later period. We find the name of Nicias mentioned as that of a tyrant of Cos, as late as the time of Augustus;[10] and some of his coins are still extant.

If the supposition of Reiske be correct, that the seventh Idyll ascribed to Theocritus, the scene of which is laid in Cos, is the production, not of Theocritus himself, but of Simichidas a native poet,[11] whose name certainly occurs in it as if he had been the author, we may consider the local allusions contained in this poem as of the most authentic kind. It is, at least, of that time when Cos was in the meridian of its prosperity, when the places of which remains are now traceable were flourishing, and when it had the honour of giving birth to the most illustrious of the Greek

[8] Herodot. 7, 163.

[9] In the life of Hippocrates (ap. Hippocrat. Op. II. p. 951, ed. Van der Linden,) it is said that, according to Istomachus, Hippocrates was born in the first year of the 80th Olympiad; but that Soranus, of Cos, having consulted the registers of Cos (*τὰ ἐν Κῷ γραμματοφυλακεῖα*), found that he was born on the 26th of the month Agrianus, in the *monarchonship* of Abriadas (*μοναρχοῦντος Ἀβριάδα*): on which day the Coi were in the habit of sacrificing to Hippocrates.

[10] Strabo, p. 658. [11] Theocrit. Op. II. p. 186, ed. Reiske.

kings of Egypt, Ptolemy Philadelphus. In the seventeenth Idyll of Theocritus are some verses supposed to be addressed by Cos to the infant Ptolemy, beseeching him to honour the island as his native place, in like manner as Apollo had honoured Delos.[12]

From the author of the seventh Idyll, and his scholiast, we may collect that Oromedon was the name of the highest mountain in the island, and Burinna that of a celebrated fountain said to have been discovered by Chalcon, king of the island; that at Haleus there was another fountain and a temple of Ceres, where a festival was held called the Thalysia; that Pyxa was a demus sacred to Apollo, situated to the right of the road from Cos to Haleus; that Acharnæ,[13] Lycope,[14] and Ptelea, were other demi of the island, and that the last of these was celebrated for its wine.[15]

The principal city of Cos appears from early times to have been situated, not like the generality of Greek settlements both in Greece and Italy, in some secure position more or less removed from the sea, but upon the shore itself: from thence it was removed to its present maritime site, near Cape Scandaria. Strabo, who mentions this fact, does not notice the date of it, but it occurred probably long before the Peloponnesian war, in the twentieth year of which Astyochus, the Lacedæmonian admiral, occupied the city of Cos in his passage from Chius to Caunus.[16] The city was then without walls, like many other maritime places during the naval power of the Athenians, who often

[12] Ὄλβιε κῶρε γένοιο, τίοις δέ με τόσσον, ὅσον περ
Δῆλον ἐτίμασεν κυανάμπυκα Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων. Theocr. 17, v. 66.

[13] v. 71. [14] v. 72. [15] v. 65.

[16] Thucyd. 8, 41. 108.

exacted this condition from their subject allies. In the following year it was fortified by Alcibiades. When Rhodus became powerful, Cos was generally in alliance with that island. The most remarkable occasion was when the Coi were joined with the Rhodii against Antiochus, in favour of the Romans.[17] As usual, however, in Greek cities, the people were divided in their politics, and an opposite party endeavoured to favour the cause of Greece against Rome, when the last unsuccessful struggle was made by the Macedonians under Perseus.[18]

Two hundred and fifty years after the time of Theocritus Cos was described by Strabo in the following terms:[19] "Beyond Halicarnassus is Termerium, a promontory of the Myndii, opposite to which is Cape Scandaria of the island Cos, forty stades distant from the continent. Termerium is the name likewise of a town above the district of the city of Cos.[20] The city of the Coi was anciently named Astypalæa, and occupied a situation different from that of the present town, but equally on the sea-coast. A civil war caused the people to remove to the present site near Scandarium,[21] when they gave to the city the same name as the island. This town is not large, but is extremely well inhabited, and presents a most agreeable aspect from the sea. The magnitude of the island is about five hundred and fifty stades; it is every where fertile, particularly in good wine, com-

[17] Polyb. 16, 4 seq.

[18] Polyb. 30, 7. Liv. 37, 16.

[19] p. 657 seq.

[20] ὑπὲρ τῆς Κῴας.

[21] περὶ τὸ Σκανδάριον. Hence Scandarium appears to have been an inhabited place near Cape Scandaria on or near the site of the second ancient town.

parable to that of Chius and Lesbus.[22] To the south is the promontory Laceter, from whence the distance to Nisyrus[23] is sixty stades: near Laceter is Halisarna. On the western side of the island are Drecanum and the town Stomalimne: the promontory is two hundred stades distant from the city. Laceter is thirty-five stades farther. In the suburbs of Cos is the Asclepieium, a very celebrated temple, filled with monuments, among which is the Antigonus of Apelles. Formerly it contained also the Venus Anadyomene,[24] which is now at Rome, Augustus having dedicated to his father, in the temple of Cæsar, this picture of the goddess as founder of the family. As a compensation to the people of Cos, Augustus is reported to have remitted one hundred talents of the duties payable by them. It is said that Hippocrates derived his practice of the dietetic branch of medicine from the descriptions of cures which were consecrated in the temple of Æsculapius. This physician was one of the most illustrious men of Cos; among whom may be named also Simus, a physician; Philetas, a poet and critic; and, in our own time, Nicias, who was tyrant of the Coi; Ariston, disciple and heir of Ariston the peripatetic; and Theomnestus, a renowned musician, who was of the party opposed to Nicias." To these names may be added those of the poet Praxa-

[22] The wine of Cos is noticed also by Athenæus (1, 25, p. 32, ed. Casaubon.)

[23] Nisyrus was fabled to have been once a promontory of Cos, named Chelone (Pausanias, Attic. 2, 4), which Neptune wrenched off from Cos, in order to bury under it the giant Polybotes, whom he had slain with his trident. Strabo, p. 489. Stephan. in Κῶς. Suid. in Νίσυρος.

[24] By the same Painter.

goras,[25] and of the native historians, Macareus,[26] Nicanor,[27] and Evemerus.[28]

Of all these men, by far the most illustrious was the physician Hippocrates. He was descended from an ancient family who derived their origin from Æsculapius, and who lived at a time when the priests of that deified physician were almost the only professors of medical science in Greece. Nebrus, the ancestor of Hippocrates in the fourth generation, distinguished himself by the medical succour which he gave to the Amphictyons at the siege of Crissa;[29] the sons and son-in-law of Hippocrates achieved considerable reputation in the same art in which their father was unrivalled: and some of the succeeding generations were eminent also by their medical talents. In the latter part of his life Hippocrates, from some cause, concerning which authorities differ, removed from Cos, and died at Larissa in Thessaly, not far from which city, on the road to Gyrton, a monument was erected to him.[30]

One of the principal temples of Cos was sacred to Here or Juno. Slaves were never admitted within its walls.[31]

The island was noted for the beauty of its young men.[32] It enjoyed a fine climate and a fertile soil, but was not exempt from the earthquakes by which

[25] Athen. 2, 4, p. 41. [26] Idem, 6, 18, p. 262. 14, 10, p. 639.

[27] Schol. in Theocrit. 7, v. 6. [28] Athen. 14, 22, p. 658.

[29] Thessalus ap. Hippocrat. II. p. 940. Stephan. in Κῶς.

[30] The biography of Hippocrates abounded in the fabulous, but it has been carefully separated from the authentic by Ackermann. V. Fabricii Bibl. Græca, II. p. 506, Harles.

[31] Macareus ap. Athen. 6, 18, p. 262; 14, 10, p. 639.

[32] Damoxenus ap. Athen. 1, 12, p. 15.

all these countries are afflicted from time to time. It suffered particularly in the reign of Antoninus, and to that emperor the city was deeply indebted for its restoration on that occasion.[33]

The most noted productions of Cos, besides its wine, were fine linen,[34] a purple dye,[35] and its μύρον, or perfumed ointment.[36]

ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF COS.

The City Cos.—Cape Scandaria being identified by its position opposite to Termerium, it follows that the present city occupies the same site as that which existed in the time of Strabo. This is confirmed by its unaltered ancient name, ἡ Κῶς, by remains of the ancient harbour, and by numerous fragments of antiquity found in and around the modern town. The more ancient town having stood, like the present, on the sea-shore, and having doubtless been equally interested in the commerce of the neighbouring continent, occupied probably a situation in the same bay, not far from the cape which is now named Luro.

Isthmus.—The occurrence of four inscriptions,[37] which are records of local honours conferred by the Isthmiotæ, constitutes a proof of the strongest kind that the ancient remains near the modern village of Kefalá are those of a town named Isthmus, now for the first time known to Geography.[38] It was probably

[33] Pausan. Arcad. 43.
[34] Tibull. 6, 35. Propert. 1, 2.
[35] Horat. Od. 4, 13.
[36] Apollonius Herophilius ap. Athen. 15, 11, p. 688.
[37] Nos. XIII, XXVII, XXVIII, XXXVIII.
[38] Stephanus gives Isthmus as the name of a city, but identifies it with Halicarnassus.

so called as occupying a central position in the southern peninsula of Cos; for the word *Ἰσθμὸς* was employed not only in the sense of a neck of land, but also as synonymous of *Χερσόνησος*, or a peninsula.

HALISARNA.—The inscription No. XLIII., recording a dedication to Ceres by the people of Halisarna, or Halasarna, as it is there written, leaves little doubt as to the real site of that ancient town.

STOMALIMNE.—The words of Strabo, although they may be considered as signifying that the promontory Drecanum and town Stomalimne were contiguous, have not of necessity that meaning. As the coast, therefore, near the western cape is barren, and preserves no vestiges of antiquity, Stomalimne was probably in the only situation on the western shore, where such vestiges exist, namely, at Mármara, which in fact derives its name from remains of ancient walls and of a mole there situated. The word Stomalimne leads one to suppose that a lagoon here bordered the coast; and we find, accordingly, that at a mile to the eastward of Mármara, occurs the only lagoon on this shore. It may formerly have been of larger dimensions, and may have extended as far as Mármara; for this kind of lake often varies in its dimensions in the course of centuries, in consequence of alluvion from the hills, or of a change in the course of waters, or of the effect of currents along the shore. Stomalimne seems to have been the harbour of a more considerable town, which, according to inscriptions and ancient vestiges found there, stood at the modern village of Pyle, in the most central situation of the island. Possibly this may have been the Ptelea, to the vineyards of which Cos was chiefly indebted for the fame of its wines.

The copious source of water which supplies the town of Cos by an aqueduct, and which is now called the fountain of Hippocrates, is probably the same which is mentioned in the seventh Idyll of Theocritus as having been discovered by Chalcon, king of Cos. Of the position of the other places alluded to in the same poem, namely, Haleus, Pyxa, Acharnæ, and Lycope, no valid conjecture can be offered.

That inconsistency in details, which the incorrect text of Strabo so often presents, is remarkable in reference to this island. The circumference, however, which he ascribes to it, namely, five hundred and fifty stades, although differing considerably from the true circuit, or sixty-five geographical miles, is at least much nearer the truth than the hundred Roman miles of Pliny; and sufficiently near the truth to show that there is some great error in the distances which his text gives from the city of Cos to Cape Drecanum, and from thence to Cape Laceter, namely, two hundred stades to the former, and thirty-five more to the latter; since the city having been at the northern extremity, and Laceter at the southern, the sum of these two distances ought to have been at least equal to half the circumference, whereas it is forty stades short of that measure, even according to Strabo, and in truth eighty short of it. No reliance therefore can be placed on these numbers of the geographer.

In like manner we find that while the distance from Cape Termerium of Caria to Cape Scandaria of Cos is greatly overrated at forty stades, the true distance being less than three geographical miles, that from the southern promontory of Cos to the island of Nisyrus is undervalued at sixty stades. In conclusion, therefore, we cannot arrive at more than a high degree

of probability in supposing that Drecanum was the western promontory corresponding either to the Cape Ai Ianni, or to the Cape Dhafni of the present day, and that the southernmost promontory, now called Krókilo, was the ancient Laceter; for if the inscription which demonstrates the site of Halasarna should, when taken in conjunction with the words of Strabo, be considered as proving the adjacent promontory to have been Laceter, the consequence would be that Strabo would have described the southern cape of the island as the western, and the south-eastern as the southern; an error not so likely to have happened as one of numbers, either arising from defective information in the geographer, or from negligence in the writers of manuscripts in the course of ages. It must be confessed, however, that even according to this mode of solving the difficulty, we must suppose, if not a positive want of knowledge in the geographer, at least an extreme laxity of expression when he describes Halisarna as *πρὸς τῷ Λακητῆρι.*

Cos, like the other communities of Doric origin in this quarter, employed the Doric dialect, and continued to do so, at least in its public documents, long after the time which some learned men have supposed to have terminated the distinction of dialects, namely, the conquest of Asia by Alexander. Of this we have a sufficient proof in the Inscription No. XXIV., in honour of the Emperor Vespasian. As a difference may generally be observed in the employment of Doric forms by cities not immediately connected with each other, and especially by those most distant from one another, we are not surprised to remark in the inscriptions of Cos that the dialect resembled the Cretan Doric more than that of the Peloponnesus.

The Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum of Boeckh contains twenty-three inscriptions from Cos, all collected in the town and its immediate vicinity. The following were found in various parts of the island, and, with one exception, are unpublished. Among those given by Boeckh the most interesting is No. 2502, in honour of Herod the tetrarch, whose father, Herod the king, had conferred many favours on Cos.[39] We may refer also to No. 2510, recording the dedication of a sun-dial (ὡρολόγιον).[40]

[39] Joseph. Bell. Jud. 1, 21.

[40] For the inscriptions, as copied by Lieut. Helpman, see the end of this volume.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ISLAND OF COS.

I.[41]

Ἁ βουλὰ καὶ ὁ δᾶμος τῆς λαμπροτάτης Κωίων πόλεως ἐτείμασεν κατὰ τὰ πολιτευθέντα ὑπὸ ἄρχοντος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀριστίωνος, Κοσμοῦ υἱοῦ, Πούβλιον Σαλλούστιον Σεμπρώνιον Οὐίκτορα, τὸν κράτιστον ἔπαρχον βεϊκουλῶν,[42] *ἡγεμόνα καὶ δουκηνάριον*[43] *Σαρδονίας, τῆς ἐπὶ πᾶσαν θάλασσαν ἡγησάμενον εἰρήνης, μετ' ἐξουσίας σιδήρου,*[44] *δουκηνάριον τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, Πόντου καὶ Βειθυνίας.*

II.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

πατρὸς Διοφάντου

III.

Ἀφροδισία Ἰστριανά[45]

[41] This inscription, being in the town of Cos and in a conspicuous situation, has been repeatedly copied. See Boeckh C. Inscr. Gr. No. 2509. All the transcripts have *ἐτείμασεν*, not *ἐτείμασαν*.

[42] Præfectum vehiculorum.—See Orellii Inscr. Lat. Select. 2223, 2648, 3178, 3435.

[43] We learn from Suetonius that Augustus added a fourth decuria of judges, called Ducenarii, as taking cognizance of causes relating to sums of two hundred sestertia and under. In the provinces there were ducenarii procuratores.—Sueton. Aug. c. 24.

[44] Cum jure gladii.—See Orell. 1091, 3169.

[45] Aphrodisia was a native of the island Istrus, now Ghialí, distant

IV.

Αὐρηλία Εἴρη ἀνέθηκε

V.

Εἰρηναί(ου
Οὐτου . . . . .
Μακαρίνου
Ζήνωνος τοῦ Σωπάτρου
καὶ Εὐψυχίας τᾶς Ζήνωνος
Ἀλεξανδρέων[46]

VI.

Ἀπίων Ἀπολλοδώρου Ἀλεξανδρεύ
Χαίρε

VII.

Εὐχαρίστου τοῦ Εὐχαρίστου· ζῇ

VIII.

Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Φιλωνίδου

IX.

Πουβλίου Ἀουιανίου Μάρκου υἱοῦ Ῥούφου

X.

Εὔκλειτος Φίλωνος
Ξενοκλῆς Παταρέως
Σειμάχης Ξενοκρατέος

five miles from the nearest point of Cos, and ten miles to the west of Cape Triopium, now Krio. *Ἴστρος νῆσος πόλιν ὁμώνυμον ἔχουσα κατὰ Τριόπιον τῆς Κνιδίας.* Stephan. in v. The gentile appears from this inscription to have been *Ἰστριανός.*

[46] Natives of Alexandria.

Ἀριστόθεμις Χαριφῶντος
Μέλανθος Ἀνδρομενέος
Νίκων Νικαρχί(δου)
Προντιφάνης Φίλωνος

XI.

χφ'ϟβ (1592) IN. *α* (indict. 1)
ἀνακαινίσθη ἡ παροῦσα
πηγή

XII.

Μηνόφιλε
Χρηστὲ χαῖρε

XIII.

Ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἰσθμιωτᾶν τὸ σᾶμα Ἀριστοκράτει μνάμας ἕνεκα

XIV.

Στράτων καὶ Εὐταξία οἱ Στράτωνος τὰν στάλαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρὸς Στράτωνος, τοῦ β̄ πρωτιῶνος,[47] *ἀρχιερατεύσαντος, καὶ δαμαρχήσαντος καὶ πρηγιστεύσαντος,*[48] *κατὰ πόλιν μοναρχεῦν(τος.)*[49]

XV.

. . . . . *τοῦ Ἀγησάνδρου*
Ἀρωματίνης τῆς Δαμοφῶντος

XVI.

Φιλείνου τοῦ Ἀπολλοδώρου

[47] *Πρωτιῶνος,*—this, if correctly given, seems to be a new word, equivalent to *πρωτεύοντος.*

[48] *Πρηγιστεύσαντος,*—*βουλῆς πρήγιστος* is found in a Cretan inscription, (Boeckh, No. 2562,) but generally *πρείγυς* or *πρήγυς* was the same as *πρέσβυς* : *πρειγεύτας* for *πρέσβυς* occurs in an inscription of Teos, (Boeckh, No. 3058.)

[49] *Μοναρχεῦντος,* Dor. for *μοναρχοῦντος.* Concerning this title see above, p. 3, note 9.

XVII.

. . . . Κλωδίου Καπιτῶ[νος
Κλαυδιανοῦ

XVIII.

Ὁ δᾶμος Σεβαστοῖς Θεοῖς τὸ βᾶμα

XIX.

Ἑκατόδωρος Περιγένους

XX.

Εἰρηναῖς Ἐπαφροδίτου

XXI.

Ἀγέμοτις
Ἀγεπολιος

XXII.

Ἀγαθῶν[ος Ἑλλανίκου, Ἑκαταίας
Ἑκατοδώρου, Κλεονίκης Ἀντιδήμοι

XXIII.

α . . νω Ἀρχιδάμου,
Θεύδωρος Σωστράτου.

XXIV.

Πεισιστράτου τοῦ Εὐόδου
Εὐόδου τοῦ Πεισιστράτου

XXV.

Δαμοφῶντος τοῦ Φιλίππου

XXVI.

$\bar{\alpha}\ \bar{\upsilon}\ \bar{\pi}\ \bar{\alpha}$ *i. e.* 1481.

XXVII.

Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Οὐεσπασιανὸν Σεβαστὸν, ἀρχιερέα, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας, πατέρα πατρίδος, ὕπατον τὸ πέμπτον, ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἰσθμιωτᾶν καθιέρωσεν

XXVIII.

Ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἰσθμιωτᾶν ἐτίμασεν τιμαῖς τρίταις Σάτυρον Θεμιστοκλέους ἰατρὸν στεφανῷ χρυσέῳ ἀπὸ χρυσῶν ν̄ καὶ εἰκόνι χαλκῇ, ἀρετᾶς ἕνεκεν τᾶς κατὰ τὰν τέχναν καὶ εὐνοίας τᾶς ἐς αὐτόν.

XXIX.

Νικομάχη ἀνδρὶ Δα . . . . .

XXX.

. . . . . δάκρυ
Ἁρπάξας Ἀΐδας σὰν ἐμάρανεν ἀκμὰν,
Συνκέχυται γενέτας δὲ Ποσείδιππος κλυτὸν ἔρνος
Ζαλωτὸν πέμψας Φερσεφόνας θαλάμοις
. . . . . γονέων ἐλπίδα γηραλέην.

XXXI.

Γλύκιννα Οὐλιάδου Α

XXXII.

Βερινίκη . . . . .

XXXIII.

Ἑκαταῖος κατ' ὄνειρον[50]

XXXIV.

Κλαυδία Εὐφροσύνη ἡ καλῶς συνοικήσασα

[50] A dedication in consequence of a dream.

ἔτη λ τῷ ἀγαθῷ . . . . . δεσπότῃ τοῦ
Ἑλλησπόντου χαρόν, ἔνθαδε κεῖται

XXXV.

Δημητριάς· ἔτων

XXXVI.

. . . . . .
. . . . χάρων

XXXVII.

Ῥοδοκλείας τῆς Πρωτέα Μιλησίας

XXXVIII.

Ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἰσθμιωτᾶν καθιέρωσεν
. . . .

XXXIX.

Τιμοκτίδας Μει . . .

XL.

. . . . γυμνασιαρχο
Σεραπίας τ . . . . .

XLI.

Ζώσιμος Ζωσίμου

XLII.

Πλάθαινις Δεωνίδα. Φίλιστος Ἑκατωνύμου

XLIII.

(Ὁ δᾶμος) ὁ Ἁλασαρνιτᾶν (Ἄ)ρτέμ(ιδι) [51]

[51] It would appear, from this inscription, that the ancient site near Cape Andemáki is that of Halisarna, or, according to this document, Halasarna, and that the gentile adjective was Ἁλασαρνίτης.

XLIV.

Ἐπὶ δημάρχου Νικόφρονος μηνὸς Ἀρταμιτίου, ἔδοξε τῷ κοινῷ τῶν συμφορευομένων παρὰ Ὑέτιον Χάρμιγγος· Παρμέν(ων) καὶ Φίλιστος Φιλίστου (καὶ Λύκαι)θος Παρμενίσκου εἶπαν· Ἐπειδὴ Νικάγορας Θευδώρου καὶ Λύκαιθος Λευκίππου γενόμενοι ἐπιμήνιοι,[52] αὐτεπάγγελτοι τά τε ἱερὰ ἐξέθυσαν τῷ Διὶ καὶ ἀνανεώσαντο τὰν θυσίαν τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τὰν ὑποδοχὰν ἐποιοῦντο τῶν δαμοτᾶν κάκ' τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ἀξίως τῶν θεῶν, σπουδᾶς καὶ προθυμίας οὐδὲν ἐλλείποντες· ὁπωσοῦν καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦθ' αἱρουμένοι ἐπιμήνιοι προθυμότερος αὐτὸς παρέχωνται, εἰδότες τὰν τῶν δαμοτᾶν εὔνοιαν· δεδοχθαι Νικάγοραν καὶ Λύκαιθον ἐπαινέσαι ἐπὶ τᾷ αἱρέσει καὶ τᾷ εὐσεβείᾳ ἃς ἔχοντι ποτὶ τὸς θεὸς[53] καὶ τὸς δαμοτὰς καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸς ἀπὸ χρυσῶν δέκα· τοὶ ταμίαι ἀναγραψάντων τὸ δὲ ψάφισμα ἐς στάλαν λιθίναν, καὶ ἀναθέντων παρὰ τὸν δόμον τοῦ Διός· τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα γενόμενον ἐς τὰν στάλαν στησάντων τοὶ ταμίαι.

[52] Ἐπιμήνιοι, antistites sacrorum in mensem constituti. See Boeckh, C. I. G. No. 2448.

[53] All the Doric peculiarities here observable, as ποτὶ τὸς θεὸς for πρὸς τοὺς θεούς: ἀναγραψάντων for ἀναγραψάτωσαν, &c., are found in the Cretan inscriptions. See Boeckh, C. Inscr. Gr. part 12, sect. 8.

II.—ON THE SOUND AND PRONUNCIATION OF SOME BRITISH AND GERMAN WORDS IN THE TIME OF THE ROMANS.

BY SIR T. PHILLIPPS, BART.

(Read Jan. 9, 1840.)

As all written works of the Britons and Germans anterior to the Roman conquest, (if any ever existed,) have long been lost, the only mode left to us, of acquiring even the slightest knowledge of their languages in those times, is that which may be derived from the words given by Cæsar and others, in the names of persons and places.

It would therefore be desirable to investigate the true orthography of such names: for that purpose, however, we shall not here write an essay on the subject, but, merely giving a hint, we will endeavour to strike the spark, which others may fan into greater light, if they think proper to urge the question further.

It is evident, if no such written works existed, that the Romans must have been guided by the ear in fixing the orthography of those words. How deceptive an organ that is, we know from modern facts; for, among five persons who have learned to read and write, but have been inattentive to the spelling, we may find the same word written in five different ways, because, having forgotten the evidence of the eye, they only judge by that of the ear.

In our own country, the most remarkable instance, which we can recall to memory, is that of the river Sabrina. The Welsh call it Hafren, the aspirate of which seems to have been pronounced by the Britons so strongly, as to have appeared to the Romans to be the consonant *s*.

In the same language the Roman *sal* (salt) is pronounced by the Britons *hal*. Here two questions arise. Did the Britons possess salt before the arrival of the Romans, or not? If not, it shows that the Welsh, in adopting the Roman *sal*, were obliged to use the aspirate *h* to pronounce the Roman *s*. If they did possess it, why did they reject their own word, to adopt the Roman? There are other words, proving the same fact, which may be easily referred to in any Welsh dictionary.

To utter the letter *s*, when it was followed by another consonant in the Roman word, seems to have been a work of difficulty to the Britons. They were apparently obliged to prefix a vowel to it before they could do so, as may be observed in the words derived from the Latin *scribere*. And here we will just observe, that the adoption of this Roman word appears to us to prove that the Britons could *not* write *before* the Roman conquest. If they could, why, again, did they adopt the Roman words?

With regard to the German names, we will select from Cæsar those of Cingetorix, Vercingetorix, and Orgetorix.

These names, all ending in *getorix*, strike us as being clearly compounds, and our object here is, to endeavour to analyse them, by resolving them into their original elements. We consider them to be, in fact, nothing more than King Dietrich, Viking Dietrich, and Herr Dietrich.

It is well known that Dietrich is a very ancient German name, probably in its remotest origin signifying simply the Governor or President of the Diet. When this word (Dietrich) is pronounced quickly, (as a native would pronounce it,) the sound of *Di*, before the *e*, assimilates very much to the Arabic *Dj*, or our own *j*, or soft *g*. It most probably sounded so to the ears of Cæsar, and thus he was induced to write it *getorix*, the emphasis, in Dietrich, being thrown upon the *e*; and the Germans, we believe, still pronounce it as one syllable.

The rank of the person being always prefixed, as it is even to this day, *e. g.* King William, King George, &c., the origin of the above names thus seems to be plainly indicated. And when we know that the Saxons of later times wrote king with a *c*, the approximation is still closer.

The Viking we learn to have been an officer appointed to the principal command on the sea, and it is not improbable that the *Vi* may have been so pronounced by the Germans as to have appeared to be the syllable *Ver* to Roman ears.

Orgetorix is a still closer approximation to Herr Dietrich, and is equally probable to have been similarly corrupted.

With respect to other names, it is very possible that the like or greater alterations may have taken place, and we think the subject worthy of further elucidation; for the names of persons and places are the nearest approaches, which we have left, to the most ancient modes of orthography, either of lost, or of living, languages.

August, 1839.

III.—A FEW OBSERVATIONS ON THE TWO MEANINGS OF THE GREEK WORD ΠΟ'ΡΙΣΜΑ.

BY JAMES ORCHARD HALLIWELL, ESQ., F.R.S., M.R.S.L., &c.

(Read Jan. 23, 1840.)

THE common Latin translation of the word *πόρισμα* is *corollarium*, or an inference from a superior proposition or theorem. But it is not by any means generally known that this word has a distinct and separate meaning. In order to show this, I give the following interesting extracts from the Greek edition of the Commentaries of Proclus on Euclid, printed at Basle in the year 1533:—

P. 58 in comment. Prop. 1. Lib. I.

Τὸ δὲ πόρισμα λέγεται μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ προβλημάτων τινῶν οἷον[1] *τὰ Εὐκλείδει γεγραμμένα· πορίσματα λέγεται δὲ ἰδίως ὅταν ἐκ τῶν ἀποδεδειγμένων ἄλλο τὶ συναφανῆ θεώρημα μὴ προθεμένων ἡμῶν, ὃ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πόρισμα κεκλήκασι, ὥσπερ τὶ κέρδος ὂν τῆς ἐπιστημονικῆς ἀποδείξεως πάρεργον.*

This is very unsatisfactory as far as regards a second meaning, but a subsequent passage is more to the point as well as more intelligible:

[1] Forsan *οἷα*.

Hervagius, p. 80.

"Εν τί τῶν γεωμετρικῶν ἐστὶν ὀνομάτων τὸ πόρισμα· τοῦτο δὲ σήμαινει διττόν· καλοῦσι γὰρ πορίσματα καὶ ὅσα θεωρήματα συγκατασκευάζεται ταῖς ἄλλων ἀποδείξεσιν οἷον ἔρμαια καὶ κέρδη τῶν ζητούντων ὑπάρχοντα, καὶ ὅσα ζητεῖται μὲν εὑρέσεως δὲ χρήζει καὶ οὔτε γενέσεως μόνης οὔτε θεωρίας ἁπλῆς· ὅτι μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἰσοσκελῶν αἱ πρὸς τῇ βάσει ἴσαι, θεωρῆσαι δεῖ, καὶ ὄντων δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐστὶν ἡ τοιαύτη γνῶσις· τὴν δὲ γωνίαν δίχα τεμεῖν ἢ τρίγωνον συστήσασθαι, ἢ ἀφελεῖν ἢ θέσθαι, ταῦτα πάντα ποίησιν τινὸς ἀπαιτεῖ· τοῦ δοθέντος κύκλου τὸ κέντρον εὑρεῖν, ἢ δύο δοθέντων συμμέτρων μεγεθῶν τὸ μέγιστον καὶ κοινὸν μέτρον εὑρεῖν ἢ ὅσα τοιάδε μεταξύ πως ἐστὶ προβλημάτων καὶ θεωρημάτων· οὔτε γὰρ γενέσεις εἰσὶν ἐν τούτοις τῶν ζητουμένων, ἀλλ' εὑρέσεις, οὔτε θεωρία ψιλή· δεῖ γὰρ ὑπ' ὄψιν ἀγαγεῖν, καὶ πρὸ ὀμμάτων ποιήσασθαι τὸ ζητούμενον· τοιαῦτα ἄρα ἐστὶ καὶ ὅσα πορίσματα Εὐκλείδης γέγραφε, βιβλία προβλημάτων συντάξας· ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν τοιούτων πορισμάτων παρείσθω λέγειν· τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ στοιχειώσει πορίσματα συναναφαίνεται μὲν ταῖς ἄλλων ἀποδείξεσιν, αὐτὰ δὲ προηγουμένης τυγχάνει ζητησέως· οἷον καὶ τὸ νῦν προκείμενον, &c.

Before we proceed further, I would remark that the reading *βιβλία προβλημάτων* of Hervagius ought evidently to be changed for *βιβλία πορισμάτων*, and this emendation is supported by a marginal scholium on this passage in No. 161 of the Barocian collection of MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Baroci, indeed, in his Latin translation has *corollariorum*, having perhaps made use of this identical manuscript. In this sentence $\bar{\gamma}$ is probably omitted after *βιβλία*.

In this extract is a very explicit statement of the two very different species of porisms; viz., the porisms

composed by Euclid of Alexandria, a curious and difficult class of propositions, requiring investigation as well as construction and demonstration; and the porisms or corollaries of Euclid's Elements, which result from the demonstration of other propositions, and which often present themselves unexpectedly. Proclus proceeds to illustrate this latter class of porisms by the example of a corollary annexed to the 15th Prop. I. Elem., the preceding extract being part of his commentary on that proposition. He then gives a more diffuse description of this corollary of the Elements, of which a portion is annexed.

Hervagius, p. 80.

Ἔστιν οὖν τὸ πόρισμα θεώρημα διὰ τοῦ ἄλλου προβλήματος ἢ θεωρήματος ἀποδείξεως, ἀπραγματεύτως ἀναφαινόμενον· οἷον γὰρ κατὰ τύχην περιπίπτειν ἐοίκαμεν τοῖς πορίσμασιν· οὐ γὰρ προθεμένοις, οὐδὲ ζητήσασιν ἀπαντᾷ, ὅθεν αὐτὰ καὶ τοῖς ἑρμαίας εἰκάσαμεν, καὶ ἴσως οἱ δεινοὶ τὰ μαθηματικὰ, κατὰ ταύτην αὐτοῖς ἔθεντο τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, ἐνδεικνύμενοι τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ φαινόμενον κέρδος ἐπτοημένοις ὅτι ἄρα τὰ ἀληθῆ θεοῦ δῶρα καὶ τὰ ἕρμαια ταῦτα ἐστὶν οὐχ οἷα ἐκείνοις δοκεῖ.

Then follow several distinctions of corollaries, into arithmetical and geometrical, into those arising from theorems and those from problems, with some others of no particular importance. These extracts, it must be allowed, are not expressed with uniform clearness, but they discriminate sufficiently the porisms of Euclid from the corollaries of the Elements; and they correspond with the more general expressions of Pappus on this subject, which Proclus in these passages plainly had in view. For illustrating the distinction, he

premises that the 5th Prop. I. Elem. is a theorem, and requires demonstration; also, that the 1st, 3rd, and 9th propositions are problems, each requiring something to be done or constructed: he then adds, that to find the centre of a given circle (1. III. Elem.) or to find the greatest common measure of two magnitudes (3. 10. Elem.) or such like things, are in some sort of an intermediate character between problems and theorems. For the construction of these things sought is not given in the enunciation, but invention is requisite for finding that construction, and also for discovering the demonstration; for it is necessary to exhibit to the eye the construction of the things sought. Such, says he, is the nature of the second kind of porisms, of which Euclid composed books.

I may observe further in this place, that *loci*, which by Pappus are reckoned a class of porisms, have also somewhat of the intermediate character between problems and theorems; though they are generally considered to belong to the latter class. In the *locus* the construction must be investigated, as in the porism; and every *locus* is easily convertible into a porism.

The etymology of the porism, or corollary of the Elements, from πόρισμα, signifying gain, may be right, and the other meaning of the Greek term πόρισμα, implying investigation, may be the ground of its application to the porisms of Euclid. In the first sense it is the common corollary, which is an acquisition (or gain) from another proposition, from the demonstration of which it results often unexpectedly. Πόρισμα also, from the other signification of the word, properly denotes any thing to be investigated, which corresponds with the character of the porisms of Euclid. And

thus without any connexion between these two classes of propositions, they may incidentally, from the two unconnected meanings of a Greek word, have obtained the same name.[2]

Sir Henry Savile, in his *Prælectiones in Euclidem*, sect. I. p. 18, was the first, as far as I can learn, who saw that πόρισμα in Proclus's Commentary had two separate meanings; but his remarks on the subject clearly prove that he had not the slightest suspicion of the real nature of its second interpretation.

[2] Trail's Life of Simson, p. 90. Taylor's Translation of Proclus, vol. ii. p. 98.

IV.—THE MONUMENT OF EUBULIDES IN THE INNER CERAMICUS.

TRANSLATION OF A LETTER FROM PROFESSOR L. ROSS, OF ATHENS, TO W. M. LEAKE, ESQ.

(Read Nov. 8, 1838.)

Athens, March 22, 1837.

SIR,

A discovery which has been recently made in the Inner Ceramicus gives me the opportunity of writing to you. As founder of the topographical archæology of Athens, and as having cleared the way for your followers, you have a right to their acknowledgments, and I have much pleasure in presenting you this small essay as an offering of my homage. Perhaps these observations may reach you in time for the second edition of your work, which Mr. Finlay assures me is now in progress.

One of the principal, and perhaps the most important question for the topography of Athens, is involved in the true site of the gate by which Pausanias, coming from the Peiræus, entered the city, and to which gate he omits to give any name. You have justly observed, that on this point we have only to take into our consideration the four gates on the western side of the city: and in your topography, as well as in your last supplementary memoir on this

subject,[1] you have so well designated and described their position, that in addressing the author of these learned dissertations I have no occasion to repeat this description of them, but may at once enter upon the discussion of the question as above stated, namely, which of the four was the gate by which Pausanias entered the city.

Though I have no intention to enter upon all the other points connected with this, the immediate subject of my letter, I will take the liberty to preface it with a few preliminary observations. I do not think that you were quite justified in identifying this, the main question, with that concerning the gate called the Peiraic gate by Plutarch. For not only was Pausanias at liberty to select for his own reasons any other of the four gates, all of which led from the port into the city,—particularly at the point of time when he lived, when the long walls were no longer in existence; but it is possible, in consequence of there being more gates than one of this description, that the name of the Peiraic gate may have been given sometimes to one, and sometimes to another, according to the different periods of time, and also according to the districts of the city in which the individuals may have been resident who made use of this appellation. We know, at least, that the gate Dipylon has certainly four, and perhaps no less than five names: it was called, besides Dipylon, the Thriasian gate and the Ceramican gate: and Professor Müller, although he denies that it was ever called the Sacred gate, a name which you have very appropriately

[1] On certain disputed Positions in the Topography of Athens; Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, vol. iii. p. 183.

assigned to it, admits nevertheless the appellation of the Demiad gate.[2] Why may not this gate have been also sometimes called the Peiraic gate by those who lived between the Dipylon and the Acharnian gate, and who would consequently, when they came up from the Peiræus, have entered by the Dipylon? Plutarch, in the only two passages where he speaks of the Peiraic gate, expresses himself in terms which seem to imply that this gate was not always known by that name.[3] From the words he uses, and on other grounds, it does indeed appear not improbable that in each of these passages Plutarch alludes to a different gate; though indeed it is scarcely possible clearly to understand, and of this Plutarch himself was not unaware, the confused details given by Klidemos of the battle of the Amazons.[4] I am therefore inclined to be of opinion, that each of these questions deserves to be treated separately: and if the result of the two should lead to the same conclusion, the evidence in favour of the truth would only therefore be the more convincing. At any rate, these observations will plead my apology, if, without pretending to prejudge the question of the Peiraic gate of Plutarch, I confine myself in this letter to demonstrate, by the help of a recent discovery, which was the gate by

[2] In the notes to the German translation of Leake's Topography of Athens.

[3] Ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας παρὰ τὸ Χαλκώδοντος ἧρῳον, ἃς νῦν Πειραϊκὰς ὀνομάζουσι. Plutarch. Thes. 27. In the other passage the νῦν does not occur: Σύλλας τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς Πειραϊκῆς πύλης καὶ τῆς Ἱερᾶς κατασκάψας, &c. Plutarch, Syll. 14.

[4] Ap. Plutarch Thes. 27. The text of this passage has always appeared to me suspicious. I should propose to read ἀπὸ τοῦ Μητρῴου instead of ἀπὸ τοῦ Μουσείου. [For a statement of this question see "On the disputed Positions," p. 206.—Ed.]

which Pausanias entered Athens, and to deduce from thence some further conclusions. I shall commence by giving you the history of this discovery.

It was on the 6th or 7th of the present month that Mr. Treiber, chief physician of the army, was digging the foundations for a new building at the end of Mercury Street, at about two-thirds of the distance from the temple of Theseus towards the ancient gate of the Peloponnesus (Mora-kápesi), and not more than ten or twenty yards outside of the old wall, when he discovered, at a depth of two or three feet below the surface of the soil, the remains of an ancient monument, constructed of large square blocks of the stone anciently called πόρος. Along-side of these remains were found also two heads of marble; one of which, evidently of Roman work, and of the natural size, was that of a youth, with curly hair, and without a beard; the other was an ideal female head, of colossal proportions, and of very beautiful work. Her long tresses were bound in a knot behind the neck; the upper part of the head had been cut off, or was made of another piece of marble, which has escaped our researches: the nose is broken, but the rest of the face is in perfect preservation; the ears are pierced, and seem to have held ear-rings.

As soon as the Minister of the Interior was informed of this discovery, he ordered the construction of the building to be discontinued for a few days, and sent thither some workmen to assist in the excavation. The next day they succeeded in discovering a third head of the natural size, like the first, but of a much higher style of execution. This is the portrait of a man rather advanced in years, without a beard, but with a full head of hair, bound with a laurel crown.

There was afterwards discovered the torso of a female, of colossal dimensions and extremely beautiful, not however bearing any appearance of having belonged to the female head above mentioned. All these objects are now preserved in the temple of Theseus.

The excavations were interrupted for some days in consequence of the bad weather, when one side of the monument had scarcely been laid open. The proprietor was then allowed to resume the building, and at the present moment there are no longer any traces of the monument to be seen.

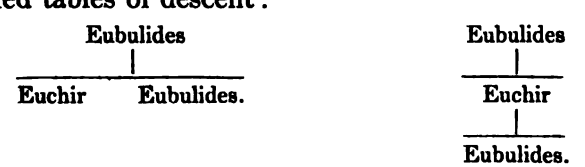
The side which had been laid open was in the direction of south-west and north-east, and faced the north-west. The base (socle) as far as it could be seen, seemed to be about eight metres in length, and it was formed of two steps (projectures), each twenty-five centimetres in height. There was probably a third step; but the excavations were not carried to a sufficient depth to ascertain this fact. The body (dé) of the monument rested upon this base: two square blocks, each 1·6 metre long, and 1·1 high, were still *in situ*. The interior of the monument was formed of masonry, in which large blocks of stone were mixed up. Along-side of this wall were found two large pieces of a cornice, of white marble, sixty-four centimetres in height, and bearing the egg and bead ornament; but the drawing was heavy, and the execution very moderate. You at once see that this would not have been enough to determine the nature or object of the monument, if, by a lucky accident, there had not been preserved amongst these remains the following fragment of a dedicatory inscription:

ΧΕΙΡΟΣΚΡΩΠΙΔΗΣΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ.

This fragment, the characters of which seem to belong to the æra of the destruction of Corinth, is copied from the edge of a slab of Hymettian marble, twenty-eight centimetres high, and, though broken, 1·1 metre long. In order to avail ourselves of it for ascertaining the name and nature of the monument, we must bring it into comparison with another Athenian inscription, in the Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum, vol. i. No. 666; of which, a more correct copy is also given in the same volume, Addenda, p. 916. The last line of this inscription, which refers to the erection of the statue of a female of the family of the orator Lycurgus, and of the house of the Eteobutadæ,[5] contains the names of two sculptors, Euchir and Eubulides, of the demos Kropidæ.

ΕΥ]ΧΕΙΡΚΑΙΕΥΒΟΥΛΙΔΗΣΚΡΩΠΙΔΑΙΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΝ.

Here then we have, belonging to the demos Kropidæ, a family of artists, in which are the two names Euchir and Eubulides. An Athenian artist, Euchir, son of Eubulides, is mentioned also by Pausanias, viii. 14, 7, as having made a statue of Mercury at Pheneos in Arcadia: *ναός ἐστιν Ἑρμοῦ σφισι, καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου· τοῦτο ἐποίησεν ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, Εὔχειρ ὁ Εὐβουλίδου.* The names of Eubulides and Euchir occur also in Pliny, H. N. xxxiv. 19, 20, and 34; and finally, Pausanias speaks of a sculptor, Eubulides, in his description of Athens. Upon these facts the learned editor of the Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum has constructed the two annexed tables of descent:



[5] It was found in the Acropolis, near the Erechtheium.

You will allow that, according to the usual practice in Athenian families, these two genealogies are equally admissible; but, according to the inscription recently discovered, the latter is the more probable: for I venture to hope that you will not object to the restoration which I propose in reading the line as follows:

ΕΥΒΟΥΛΙΔΗΣ ΕΥ]ΧΕΙΡΟΣ ΚΡΩΠΙΔΗΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ.

"Executed by Eubulides, son of Euchir, of the demos Kropidæ."

We have thus obtained a very probable solution of the problem; namely, the nature of the monument recently discovered in the inner Ceramicus. It is a large pedestal, on which was formerly placed a group of thirteen statues, which Eubulides had himself made and dedicated; and to which may be supposed to belong the head and the colossal torso above described. They represented Minerva Pæonia, Jupiter, Mnemosyne, the Muses, and Apollo.[6] The colossal head found along-side of the monument may have been that of Minerva; in that case, the upper part of the head, which was made of a separate piece of marble, and the non-appearance of which may be attributed to the discontinuance of the excavation, would have been the helmet of the goddess. The torso belongs to one of the Muses. The epoch of the monument cannot be earlier than the Roman empire, as this inscription, as well as the other in which mention is made of Eubulides and Euchir, is evidently of that date; and also

[6] See Pausanias, Attic. 2, 4. Minerva Pæonia had also an altar in the temple of Amphiaraus, near Oropus (Paus. Att. 34, 2), and an altar or a statue opposite to the tombs of the family of Lycurgus (Vit. X. Orat. in Lycurg.), that is to say, in the exterior Ceramicus, between Dipylum and the Academy (Paus. Att. 29, 15).

in consequence of the Roman character of the architectural details.[7] These facts confirm also the opinion of the Chevalier Thiersch, who, from other ingenious arguments, assigns rather a recent date (see Epoch der Kunst, 2nd edition, p. 127) to Euchir and to Eubulides.

Pausanias, having entered Athens by one of its western gates towards the Peiræus, describes whatever appeared to him remarkable in the street along which he passed: the Pompeium, the temple of Ceres, the equestrian statue of Neptune, the long porticoes, of which one contained the statues of celebrated men and women, and the other was made up of different sanctuaries of the gods, amongst which the traveller enumerates a gymnasium of Mercury, and the house of Polytion, in which Alcibiades had parodied the Eleusinian mysteries, and which, at a later period, had been consecrated to Bacchus the singer: all these large monuments and public establishments must have occupied a considerable space of ground. The monument of Eubulides seems to have succeeded immediately the house of Polytion, and to have formed part of the sacred enclosure of Bacchus. The inscription

[7] From the measures which I have mentioned, an estimate may be made of the height of the monument.

	metres.	
The three steps of the basement . . .	0·75	
Height of the monument	1·10	
The piece of blue marble, which seems to have formed part of a frieze around the monument,	0·28	
A cornice of white marble	0·74	
Metres . .	2·87	
Height of the statues about . .	3	metres.
Total, about	6	metres.

is a sufficient guarantee of its identity. It could not have been placed there at a more recent period, because, besides its great mass, it was found enveloped in the ruins of the monument itself, which, according to all appearances, had remained untouched since the time of its destruction; for nothing had ever been built over the ruins, nor had any of the broken parts been carried off as the materials for other buildings, nor any attempt been made to remove the heads and fragments of statues which were found lying on the ground. On the contrary, it had been completely neglected, till the lapse of ages had buried the ruins under a deep layer of alluvial soil, brought thither by the rains, and by the torrents from the interior of the city, and the more elevated spots which surround on all sides this deep basin of the Ceramicus.

But these same circumstances, which I have thus described, make it the more to be regretted that the excavation was so soon abandoned, when scarcely one side of the monument had been discovered, and that of the thirteen statues, with which it was decorated, only one head and a torso have been found; for it is quite certain that these two portrait heads did not belong to the group of Eubulides.[8] There is the greatest probability, that if it had been determined to lay open the whole of the monument, and to extend the excavation all along its four sides to the breadth of not less than three or four metres, many more fragments, perhaps even the greatest part of the thirteen statues, would have been found. By continuing it still

[8] They belonged probably to statues of distinguished men, which had been erected in the sanctuary of Bacchus or in the neighbouring gymnasium of Mercury.

further, they might also have discovered the remains of the gymnasium of Mercury, and of the other buildings in its vicinity. I would fain hope that this notice may tend to induce either the government or the proprietor of the ground to resume the excavation, and to carry it through.

This is what I wished to convey to you in reference to the monument which they have lately discovered. I shall only beg leave to add a few observations on the consequences which result from it to the topography of Athens.

1. The position of the gate by which Pausanias entered Athens is definitively fixed. It was that which you have called Hippades, and which is situated between the Dipylon and the hill formerly called Lycabettus, and to which we now give the appellation of the Hill of the Nymphs, in consequence of an inscription on its summit.[9] The gate between this hill and the Pnyx, by which, according to you,[10] Pausanias came into Athens, is too distant from the monument of Eubulides. Other arguments may also be adduced against your hypothesis, and amongst them one of the most urgent is the steep declivity of the gorge in which it is situated, and the difficulty of the road in

[9] In a recent work on the Topography of Athens, by one of your countrymen (Wordsworth), Dipylum, or the Ceramic gate, is placed where you place the Peiraic gate (between Pnyx and the Hill of the Nymphs). I am disposed to believe that the learned author must himself have already abandoned that opinion.

[10] [This is not quite accurate. Both in the Topography of Athens (p. 95) and in the remarks "on the disputed Positions" (Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, vol. iii. p. 202), the author leaves the question undecided; and, among other reasons, on account of the "steep declivity."—Ed.]

consequence of that declivity. Pausanias coming from the Peiræus at a time when the long walls had ceased to exist, and when of course they could have no influence on the direction which he took, naturally preferred the most convenient road, which lay in the plain, and which at the same time led directly to the most frequented quarter of the city.

It was this last consideration which led Professor Müller to suppose that Pausanias entered Athens by the Dipylon gate. If this were so, as the Dipylon separated the two Ceramici, Pausanias would have found himself immediately in the inner Ceramicus. But it is clear, from his narrative, that the Ceramicus did *not* begin immediately at the gate by which he passed, but only at the further extremity of the porticoes which he describes, and in the environs of the sacred enclosure of Bacchus, and of the statues of Eubulides; that is to say, in the low district which runs in a northerly direction from the temple of Theseus towards the Dipylon. Consequently, the Dipylon cannot have been the gate of Pausanias; and there then remains no other but that which I have designated.

2. The foundation of large square blocks of stone, the remains of which are seen within this gate in the direction of our monument, is probably that of the Pompeium. The position of this building offers another argument against your hypothesis regarding the gate of Pausanias; for, as the great processions in the Athenian festivals were assembled, and placed in order, within the outer Ceramicus, it was indispensable that the building in which the vases and other utensils used in the processions were preserved, should be nearer to this quarter, and situated on a level spot of

ground, for the greater facility of conveying these objects, some of which were doubtless of considerable weight. Now the locality which you have assigned to the Pompeium fulfils neither of these conditions.

3. The temple of Ceres, the equestrian statue of Neptune, and a part of the porticoes, which the ancient traveller mentions next after the Pompeium, and before the Ceramicus, must have occupied the rocky plateau which reaches from the gate to the limit of the low district, where the inner Ceramicus, properly so called, began. The gymnasium of Mercury and the house of Polytion occupied the space comprised between the limit or edge of the plain and the monument of Eubulides.

4. Immediately to the east of this last building, and to the north of the temple of Theseus, was another edifice containing statues of terra cotta, which cannot have occupied a large space. Then came, to the east of this small Glyptotheca, and to the right of the road which Pausanias took, the royal portico (Στοὰ βασίλειος); and after this another portico, usually denominated the portico of Jupiter Eleutherius. We are then led to the north-east of the temple of Theseus, to a place where there exist underground considerable remains of an ancient portico. These remains are perceivable in a subterranean canal, which traverses the city from east to west, and terminates in front of the Dipylon at the chapel of Hagia Triada. In 1832, I penetrated into this canal, in company with M. Forchhammer and several artists; and I gave an account of this expedition in the Blätter für liter. Unterhandlungen, 1833, No. 27. Here we found a row of thirty or thirty-two large tambours of Doric

columns still *in situ:* and since the recent discovery of the monument of Eubulides, I can scarcely entertain the least doubt that these columns belonged to one of the porticoes described by Pausanias.

Here I close the list of results which follow immediately from this new discovery: the modifications to which it leads are of considerable importance to the topography of Athens.[11] The arrangement adopted in your work upon Athens had the great inconvenience, that almost all the public buildings were collected round the Areopagus, and crowded, as it were, one upon the other, in a most inconceivable manner; whilst the extensive plain to the west and north of the temple of Theseus remained absolutely empty, without any monument whatever of note. This inconvenience is now removed by the actual discovery of the sanctuary of Bacchus the singer, and of the statues of Eubulides: the plain of the Ceramicus, so appropriate to the erection of public monuments, receives also its fair proportion: the confused group of temples, porticoes, and statues around the Areopagus is dispersed, and these fine buildings are more justly distributed over a larger space.

Independently of this discovery we have also found in another spot, between the monument of Eubulides and the temple of Theseus, a large architrave of white marble, of Roman work, bearing the following

[11] [The most important consequence to which it has led M. Ross is, that the so-called Theseium is in truth the temple of Mars mentioned by Pausanias, Attic. 8, 5. On this question he has published a dissertation in modern Greek, entitled τὸ Θησεῖον καὶ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Ἄρεως; Athens, 8vo, 1838, pp. 31: with a conjectural plan of the Agora and Ceramicus.—Ed.]

inscription, which evidently refers to some Roman emperor:

- - ΟΣΔΗΜΑΡΧΙΔΗ[ΣΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΣ - -

The letters are those of the age of Trajan and Hadrian; but I shall not venture upon any conjecture on the building to which it may have belonged.

L. Ross.

V.—ON THE ANCIENT FESTIVAL OF VALENTINE'S DAY.

BY BARON VON PURGSTALL.

(Read Nov. 14, 1839.)

The origin of this custom has been much controverted, which is to be regretted, considering the interest the subject demands; though it is indisputably of very ancient date.—*Brady's Clavis Calendaria*, London, 1815, p. 226.

NEITHER Brady, whose regretting the controversy concerning the origin of Valentine's day has no very obvious cause,—Bourne, in his 'Antiquities of the Common People,'—nor Brand, in his 'Observations' on the same subject,—has elucidated the origin of this interesting day in a satisfactory manner, or traced its festive observance to the remotest source; which is not to be found either in the calendar of the Romish church, or in the Roman feast of the goddess *Februata*,—that feast being celebrated, not on the 14th, but on the 15th of February. The origin of the festival of Valentine is to be sought in the earliest calendars, the festivals of which have successively passed into the Roman and Christian. A comparative table of concordant feasts of the most ancient Persian calendar with those of the Indians, Egyptians,

Hebrews, Syrians, Romans and Greeks, was given twenty years ago, in the account of the first twelve volumes of the Asiatic Researches;[1] and three years later this subject was treated by Dr. Ullmann, in his dissertation on the comparison of the cycle of Christian festivals with those celebrated before the Christian æra.

Referring to what has been already said in these two works, on the coincidence of Christian with pagan festivals,—a coincidence originating, no doubt, in the solicitous care of the institutors of the Christian, to abolish the memory of pagan festivals, by transferring the Christian to the very same day,—it will suffice, for throwing the necessary light on the present subject, to bring forward a comparative view of the festivals of the month of February, on the 14th of which month Valentine's day is celebrated.

The month of February had its name in the ancient Roman calendar, from *februare*, because it was that of purification and lustration: it was the same among the ancient Persians, whose month of February bore the name of the *Ized Sapendomad*, to whom was intrusted the protection of the earth.[2] On the 5th of February, the day bearing the name of the tutelary genius of the month, the talismans against scorpions and serpents were written, and all kharfesters or noxious animals were killed.[3] This month was the intercalary month among the Persians and Romans.[4] The intercalated days were called by the Persians

[1] Creuzer, Symbolik, vol. iv. p. 577, 2nd edit.

[2] Hyde, Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 257.

[3] Zendavesta, Yescht. LXX.

[4] Postridie terminalia intercalares fuere. Livius, XLV. 44.

Foordian, *Poordian*, *Foordjan*,[5] which is the same with the *Poorim* of the Hebrews, the origin of which remained in the dark from Aben Esra down to Eichhorn and Gesenius.

Aben Esra says, however, that *Foor* or *Poor* is a Persian word; *an* is the Persian plural, as *im* the Hebrew. These days were devoted to the deceased, not as days of mourning, but of hilarity, as were those of the feast of the dead celebrated by the ancient Persians in their intercalary days, immediately before which the Romans celebrated their *feralia* or *parentalia*. The Persians sent on that day dishes to the burial-places, where they were consumed by the poor; and the Jews on the feast *Poorim* sent voluntary gifts, or invited one another to dinner: no mourning was to take place, even amongst the Jews, but it was to be celebrated as a festival of hilarity, "that they should keep the 14th day of the month Adar, and the 15th day of the same, yearly, ... that they should make them days of feasting and joy, and of sending portions one to another, and gifts to the poor."[6] The Persian *Poordian* began on the 21st of *Ispandomad*, answering to the 11th of March; and the *Poorim* of the Jews on the 13th: the latter is celebrated during eight, the former was celebrated during ten days, so that the difference of two days is easily accounted for.

A second festival of the month of February, not less remarkable than that of *Poorim*, is Candlemas day, answering to the oldest Persian festival *Sade*,

[5] Haft Kolzoom, I. p. 284, and IV. p. 69. Boorhan Kati and Farhang Shoorori, I. 268, and II. 217.

[6] Esther, IX. 21, 22.

which was celebrated on the 10th of Bahman, or 29th of January. It was the first festival instituted by Kayoomars, and was celebrated by bonfires of all kinds.

After having shown the coincidence of two of the earliest Persian festivals with the Hebrew Poorim and the Christian Candlemas,—the first celebrated at the end, and the second at the beginning of our month of February,—we proceed now to the middle of the month, to the 14th, or Valentine's day. This day, on which, according to the custom still prevalent in England, young people choose their partners, is dedicated in the Indian calendar to *Ganesha*,[7] the god of matrimony; but on the very same day on which the festival of the god of matrimony takes place, is also celebrated the anniversary of the rise of the Linga.[8] There is a rural tradition, says Bourne, that on this day every bird chooses his mate; and Brand adds, in his Observations, "probably from thence came the custom of young persons choosing Valentines or special loving friends on that day." This tradition is most perfectly accordant, not only with the Indian feast of the god of matrimony, and the anniversary of the rise of the Linga, but also with a very ancient calendary tradition of the Arabs and Persians, which is exactly noted down in the modern calendar of the Persians, Arabs, and Turks.

According to this tradition, recorded already in the 'Golden Meadows' of Masoodi, who died in

[7] At the full moon in the month *Magha* (February) some persons perform the worship of Ganesha.—*Ward's View of the History, Literature, and Religion of the Hindoos*, vol. i. p. 58.

[8] On the fourteenth, the anniversary of the rise of the Linga.—*Ward*, vol. ii. p. 25.

the year 346 of the Hijra (957), and repeated in Kazweeni's 'Wonders of Creatures,' three drops fall from heaven in the month of February,—the first on the 7th, the second on the 14th, and the third on the 21st; by the effect of which nature is re-animated with new vigour at the return of spring. The first drop evaporates in the air, the second falls on the water, and the third mingles with the earth. This descent of the three drops, or electrizing sparks,[9] on air, water, and earth, is actually recorded in the Almanack which has issued from the press of Constantinople every year since 1826. By the first drop the generative power is awakened in the regions of the air; by the second, in the animals; and by the third, in the plants and their seeds.

The festival of Valentine agrees, therefore, with the most ancient festivals of the Indians, Persians, and Arabs, celebrated on the very same day, as consecrated to the god of matrimony, to the rise of generative power, and perhaps also to the goddess *Valentia*, mentioned by Macrobius as the goddess of strength and vigour.

Neither Bourne, Brand, nor Brady, discovered the origin of the custom of letter-writing, by which St. Valentine's day is distinguished in England. Brady draws within the pale of his research the next day, the 15th of February, which was dedicated to Februata; on which day, he says, the Christian clergy substituted the names of saints, in billets given on that day, for the names of boys and girls drawn in honour of the goddess Februata; and adds, that in the papal dominions patron saints are likewise chosen on that day.

[9] *Djamra* signifies a coal in the state of ignition.

I am ignorant whether this be actually the case in the papal dominions; but I myself witnessed at Pera the singular contrivance, of the monks, of distributing patron saints for the following year by means of a lottery, so that whoever may happen not to be quite satisfied with his patron may change him by this means for another in the next year: the lottery, however, is not fixed on St. Valentine's day, but towards the end of the year, to allow of the new one being begun under the protection of the saint allotted for it by the dice. This practice having, therefore, no connexion with Valentine's day or with letter-writing, it remains yet to investigate from what source the custom of sending epistles on Valentine's day may have been derived. As no more certain source is known, it may be permitted to suggest, as probable, that this custom is the remaining vestige of a very ancient practice which the ancient Persians observed, not on the 14th, but nine days later, viz., on the 23rd of February. On this day, which coincides with the 5th of *Sapendomad*, Feridoon is reported to have written the first talisman against impure beasts and noxious animals; and ever since spells and talismans have been written in Persia on this day,[10]—a practice which, perhaps, is still perpetuated in England by the spell and talismanic virtue of love-letters written on Valentine's day.

[10] Hyde, Rel. Vet. Pers. pp. 257, 258.

VI.—OF THE COLOURS OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS.

BY C. T. BEKE, ESQ.

(Read Jan. 15, 1834.)

Of the numerous objects that arrest the attention of modern antiquaries, none are more interesting than those which acquaint us with the original state and appearance of the monuments of early art. But to enable us to judge of the effect of these monuments at the time they were erected, we require, if not their total preservation, at least some acquaintance with their general character; and, independently of the satisfaction we derive from the study of ancient architecture, we feel our curiosity more than ordinarily excited by an insight into those peculiarities which characterise the taste of each individual nation.

Inferior as may be the style of Egyptian sculpture, owing to the received regulations that fettered the genius of the Egyptian artists, much interest must necessarily be taken in its study from the circumstance of its having been the parent of Greek talent, and having reached the highest state of perfection of which it was susceptible at a period when Greek art was either in embryo or totally unknown. The peculiarities of its style, its massive proportions, and the variety of

subjects it represents, equally deserve the attention of an inquiring mind; and neither have the ravages of time nor human violence denied us the means of ascertaining its principal features.

The climate of Egypt is, indeed, peculiarly adapted to the preservation of ancient monuments; and if the large cities of Alexandria and Cairo had not in later times been founded in their vicinity, Memphis, Heliopolis, Sais, and other towns of Lower Egypt, would in all probability have still presented extensive remains of their former splendour. In addition to the serenity and dryness of the climate, Thebes is greatly indebted to its position for the preservation of its monuments; and had it not been for the destructive invasion of Cambyses, and the vengeance of Ptolemy Lathyrus, the still more baneful consequence of its rebellion, it is reasonable to conclude that the temples and other public buildings would have continued almost entire to the present day. Sufficient, however, is left to enable us to judge of the beauty of these edifices, and in many parts the remains of colour afford a satisfactory notion of their original appearance. If this combination of colour with the details of architecture is not a peculiarity that exclusively belonged to Egyptian buildings, it is however from them alone that we can now judge of its effect. Independently of the hieroglyphics, the choice and arrangement of which were regulated as well by the rules of harmony as by the nature of the subject, the larger sculptures on the walls, the capitals and shafts of the columns, the cornices, and every moulding and intermediate object, were adorned with appropriate colours. White was generally chosen for the ground, and in commencing the ornamental details a sufficient number of squares were ruled on those

parts where the sculptures were to be introduced, the size of each square depending, of course, on the proportions of the figures or objects to be therein represented. A draughtsman then sketched the subjects of each compartment with an outline of red ochre, which, being revised by a superior artist or inspector, were re-drawn in black, and then passed to the hands of the sculptor, who was again succeeded by the painter, by whom they were finally completed. The same process was adopted in regard to all the other parts of the building; and the ceiling, representing the azure hue of the heavens, was closely studded with yellow or white stars. Nothing, in short, was deemed finished without the introduction of colour; and even the hieroglyphics on obelisks and other granite monuments were coloured red, blue, or green, on an appropriate ground.

But it was not by an indiscriminate admission of colours that the Egyptians attempted to beautify their temples; their scientific adaptation of dark and light colour was the result of careful study, and nowhere is this harmonious union more striking than in Egyptian buildings. To the mysterious meaning attached to certain colours I shall not here advert, this being a question purely mythological; but as the deities differed in this respect, the varied distribution of their figures tended in a great measure to aid the artists in the choice and combination of the sculptures. The same attention was bestowed on the furniture, vases, and objects of glass and porcelain-ware; and it is not a little remarkable that their mode of conveying colour directly through the mass of fused substances is still a desideratum in modern art. Nor was it on the great variety of hues that they depended for effect; the number was

limited, and in general confined to three, five, or seven colours. Red, blue, and green being found to harmonize with each other, formed the most usual combination; and the introduction of black was supposed to require a counterpoise of bright yellow. Others were sometimes introduced in more complicated subjects; and orange, white, and brown were admitted in requisite proportions according to the position of the other colours.

As far as I have been able to ascertain their nature without the aid of chemical analysis, the red and yellow are both ochres, the blue and green extracted from copper, the black a bone-black, the white a finely levigated lime or a pure chalk, and the brown and other composed colours are obtained by the mixture or union of some of the preceding. The lime, of which the ground of the sculptures is frequently formed, even on sand-stone monuments, has in many instances changed the tone of the green and blue; and the oxygen of the atmosphere has so far acted on the red and yellow, that they always appear of a much darker hue than when first laid on, so that some slight allowance must be made for this diminution of their original force. That which is the least altered, and most easily removed from the surface of the walls, is, as might be expected, the black; but, by carefully damping them with a sponge, the red and yellow, and even the more tenacious green and blue, may be obtained in sufficient quantity to show their real nature, and the transparent brightness of their primitive effect; and with this view I have made a collection of the five principal colours, which I take this opportunity of exhibiting to the Society.

VII.—ON LORD PRUDHOE'S TWO GRANITE LIONS, PRESENTED BY HIM TO THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

BY SIR GARDNER WILKINSON, F.R.S., M.R.S.L., &c.

(Read May 28th, 1834.)

In examining these lions, it is evident that the hieroglyphics round the base commemorate their dedication to the god Amun, and that they contain the name of Amunoph III., an Egyptian monarch of the eighteenth dynasty, by whom they were placed before one of the temples in Napata, the capital of Northern Ethiopia.

One of these inscriptions extended entirely round the base; the other was left unfinished on the right side, and has this peculiarity, that the name of Amunoph is introduced following that of some other king, whose hieroglyphics have been purposely erased. Besides this, it is worthy of remark, that the hieroglyphics relating to the name of Amunoph begin with what has always been considered to signify '*repairs*' or *addition* to the sculpture or building of any monument; from which two circumstances any one may readily infer that the inscription was commenced by the earlier monarch, whose name has been obliterated, and was continued by Amunoph: and his having introduced his name where no erasure has

taken place, shows plainly that this part was left blank, and consequently in an unfinished state.

From a comparison with other monuments erected during the reign of this king, and bearing his name, we are justified in applying the following remark to these lions, and may thereby be enabled to clear up the apparent difficulty that results from the erasure.

A careful investigation of Egyptian monumental records leads us to the conclusion that Amunoph III. had an elder brother (whose name appears to read Amun-Toônh) who reigned conjointly with him, and who, though sharing equal authority, had in his quality of elder brother the honourable distinction of a prænomen and phonetic nomen. Amunoph had at that time only a prænomen, which was repeated in lieu of a phonetic nomen; and this fact is abundantly proved by examination of the monuments erected during the early part of his reign; in all of which we find that the prænomen and nomen originally contained the same hieroglyphics, but that the latter has been altered into the phonetic name of Amunoph at a subsequent period.

This last change seems to have happened after the death or secession of the elder brother (Amun-Toônh), whose name was then ordered to be erased on every monument where it could be found throughout Egypt and Nubia; and it is only from the traces of the hieroglyphics, or by a comparison of the several parts of the ovals, accidentally preserved in the more minute sculptures, through the oversight of those employed to obliterate them, that we are enabled to decipher the whole of the characters of which it is composed.

Whether or not this monarch was really the Danaus reputed by the Greeks to have led a colony from

Egypt about this period, it is difficult to determine; but the age at which the latter is said to have died (B. C. 1425)[1] is at least in favour of this opinion.

In the erection of temples and other monuments during the combined reign of these two kings, we have conclusive evidence that both their names were introduced into the sculptures,[2] and shared equal honours; one part being assigned to the hieroglyphics of one, and another to those of the other Pharaoh.

The merit of erecting these lions seems in like manner to have been divided between the two princes; and one bore the name of the elder, the other that of the younger brother. The death or retirement of Amun-Toônh having, however, happened before the completion of the sculptures round the base of his lion, Amunoph continued them; and having altered his own nomen on the one monument, and erased the name of Amun-Toônh on the other, he completed the hieroglyphical inscription, and therein introduced his own prænomen and phonetic nomen.[3]

To confirm what has been already said of the change of his nomen, it may be observed, that in the inscription of Amun-Toônh's lion the hieroglyphics of the nomen of Amunoph have *not* been altered, because inserted *after* the death or retirement of his brother; but in those of the other lion, which had been sculptured previous to that event, the prænomen and nomen were both alike, and the phonetic name Amunoph was not introduced.

[1] Amunoph III. ascended the throne about 1430 B. C., and died about 1408 B. C.

[2] As at Luksor, and other places.

[3] The word *Amun* of the name of *Amun*-Toônh is alone left, being also the beginning of that of *Amun*oph.

We may therefore conclude: 1st, that these lions were placed before a temple at Napata during the joint reign of Amun-Toônh and his brother Amunoph;—2ndly, that each lion bore the name of one of these princes;—3rdly, that the hieroglyphic inscription on the base of the most perfect lion (which was that of Amun-Toônh) was left unfinished, and was completed[4] by Amunoph;—4thly, that the erasure of the first names, and the introduction of a second set of ovals, were owing to the death, expulsion, or secession of the elder of the two brothers;—and, finally, that Amunoph III. was the younger brother, and did not enjoy the right of placing his phonetic nomen on the monuments till after the death or retirement of Amun-Toônh.

With regard to the other hieroglyphics on the breasts of these lions, they are of a more recent date, and totally unconnected with the name of Amunoph. They present the prænomen and nomen of an Ethiopian monarch, who ruled long after at Napata (Gebel el Berkel), where these records of the dominion[5] of the Egyptian Pharaohs were erected by Amunoph, and whence they were brought by Lord Prudhoe. He was called Amunasro; and though the time when he lived cannot be exactly ascertained, it is evident from the style of his hieroglyphics that he was of a very late epoch, and probably contemporary with the Ptolemies or the Cæsars.

[4] Completed as far as it extends; for one side of the base is still unsculptured.

[5] Amunoph was not the first Egyptian king who obtained possession of that country, since the name of one of the Osirtasens appears on the substructions of the temple.

VIII.—AN INQUIRY INTO THE PROBABLE ORIGIN OF THE BOETIAN NUMERICAL CONTRACTIONS, AND HOW FAR THEY MAY HAVE INFLUENCED THE INTRODUCTION OF THE HINDOO ARITHMETICAL NOTATION INTO WESTERN EUROPE.

BY JAMES ORCHARD HALLIWELL, ESQ., F.R.S., &c.

(Read June 13th, 1839.)

Mr. Hallam, in his 'Introduction to the Literature of Europe during the Middle Ages,' was the first who noticed the historical importance of a little tract in the Arundel collection, in its connexion with the Western reception of the Hindoo decimal notation. Mr. Forshall had previously caught a glimpse of its curiosity, and, without attaching more value to the numerals it exhibits than that of singularity, caused a portion of the first page of the manuscript to be lithographed at the end of the catalogue; and I had the same lithograph copied for me to illustrate a short dissertation on the subject which I annexed to the *Rara Mathematica*. The manuscript ceased to be of much weight in the discussion after I pointed out the three valuable Bodleian manuscripts, from one of which it would appear to be entirely taken; but I have considered it due to the illustrious author whose name stands at

the head of this paragraph to state these few circumstances, because I am fully convinced that it was his notice of the Mentz manuscript which has drawn so much attention and interest to this subject from those mathematicians and antiquaries who are interested in the history of arithmetic. In the following few pages I have brought together the results of the inquiries of M. Chasles and myself, as well as a few incidental hints gathered from treatises not expressly written on this inquiry.

The first point of interest that naturally presents itself is the introductory use of the siphos or zero, and on its solution depends the main foundation of any probable conjecture as to its relation with the Hindoo system. In the Bodleian manuscripts the idea of local position is satisfactorily and fully exhibited, but in the Mentz manuscript it is not; the vacancies in the writer's abaci constituting the main deficiencies of his apparatus, sufficiently inadequate for speed in its most advanced state. But even in the Hattonian manuscript, although the cipher is used, yet its principal advantage is almost entirely lost; for so far from any attempt being made to supersede the necessity for the use of the abacus, we find it expressly stated at the commencement that nothing is done in arithmetic without the tables covered *cum pulvere*. The Lansdowne manuscript, likewise, which I have mentioned in the Appendix to the *Rara Mathematica*, strikingly illustrates the probable transition. Further than this I know not of one instance of the Boetian numerals being practically applied to calculation.

With respect to their origin, nothing can be yet decided. One conjecture, because a favourite one, I take the liberty of inserting, and consequences will

sufficiently bear out my hypothesis, which is one I do not consider by any means as violently improbable: Might not these singular forms have originated in an European translation of some Eastern work, the numerals, to suit the writer, being reversed? Might not these, with a little variation, have gained the fantastic forms we now find in manuscripts; for it must be remembered that scarcely any two manuscripts agree in the formation of these figures? Certain it is, that some of the unintelligible names are of Eastern origin.

M. Chasles discusses at length the true meaning of the passage in the Geometry of Boetius. Out of that another question arises, whether, as Boetius asserts, his system was known to the Pythagoreans. When this question descends to particularities there is considerable difficulty in hazarding an answer, but the general systems were doubtless nearly coincident. Most authors have laid too great a stress on the difference between the Greek and Indian notations, when, in reality, there is very little. Both systems will even be included under the same generating formula; for, supposing N the general symbol of number, then

$$N = A.\ 10^{r} + B.\ 10^{r-1} + C.\ 10^{r-2} + \ .\ .\ .\ + E.\ 10^{1} + F.$$

where the generating factors, A, B, C, &c., are digits.

M. Chasles gave the first hint, though by a mistake, of the strange confusions of the sipos and celentis: the following verses from a MS. in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, would seem to show that celentis was the term used for the sipos :—

> "Unus adest igin; andras duo; tres reor armin;
> Quatuor est arbas; et pro quinque fore quinas;

Sex calcis; septem zenis; octo zenienias;
Novem celentis; pro deno sume priorem."

But in another assemblage of verses we find the precisely opposite variation:—

"Ordine primogeno nomen possidet Igin.
Andras ecce locum prævindicat ipse secundum.
Ormis post numerus non compositus sibi primus.
Denique bis binos succedens indicat Arbas.
Significat quinos ficto de nomine quinas.
Sexta tenet Calcis perfecto munere gaudens.
Zenis enim digne septeno fulget honore.
Octo beatificos Temenias exprimit unus.
Hinc sequitur Sipos est, qui Rota namque vocatur."

I have in another place given a full explanation of the fractional notation. It is, indeed, merely an adaptation of the Roman weights to numerical computation; for instance, taking *as* for unity, we have,

$\frac{11}{12}$ deunx.	$\frac{10}{12}$ dextans.
$\frac{9}{12}$ dodrans.	$\frac{8}{12}$ bisse.
$\frac{7}{12}$ septunx.	$\frac{6}{12}$ semis.
$\frac{5}{12}$ quicunx.	$\frac{4}{12}$ triens.
$\frac{3}{12}$ quadrans.	$\frac{2}{12}$ sextans.
$\frac{1}{12}$ uncia.	

The uncia was also divided into twelve portions, but somewhat differently:

$\frac{1}{2}$ semiuncia.	$\frac{1}{3}$ duella.
$\frac{1}{4}$ sicilius.	$\frac{1}{6}$ sexcula.
$\frac{1}{8}$ dragma.	$\frac{1}{12}$ hemissecla.
$\frac{1}{16}$ tremissis.	$\frac{1}{24}$ scrupulus.
$\frac{1}{48}$ obulus.	$\frac{1}{72}$ bissiliqua.
$\frac{1}{96}$ ceraces.	$\frac{1}{144}$ siliqua.

To these was added the 192nd part of the uncia, which will be found in the fac-simile of the Arundel or Mentz MS. under the name of *chalcus*. The con-

tractions, or rather arbitrary forms, for these fractions are of very common occurrence in MSS., and it is remarkable that there is to be traced a progressive and digressive ratio in the number of the horizontal and vertical strokes.

But perhaps the best explanation of all is that given by Bede, which I now proceed to lay before the reader:

"Hæc, inquam, ponderum vocabula, vel characteres, non modo ad pecuniam mensurandam, verum ad quævis corpora, sive tempora demetienda conveniunt. Unde et ratio vel mos obtinuit, ut in cautione computorum, pueri unum et duo, sæpius asse et dispondio mutenturtitem tressis, quartussis, quintussis, sextussis, septussis, et cætera hujusmodi, quasi tres asses, quatuor asses profertur: et in eundem modum sequentia numerorum quam plurima. Sive igitur horam unam, sive diem integrum, sive mensem, sive annum, seu certe aliud aliquod majus minusve temporis spatium in duodecim partiri vis, ipsa duodecima pars uncia est: reliquas undecim, deuncem appellant. Si in sex partire vis, sexta pars sextans: quinque reliquæ, dextans, vel (ut alii) distas vocantur. Si in quatuor, quarta pars, quadrantis nomen obtinet: residuæ tres, dodrantis nomen accipiunt. Et hujus disciplinæ regula solvitur, quod plerosque turbat imperitos: quia Philippus in expositione beati Job, æstum maris oceani quotidie bis venire describens, adjunxerit hunc æquinoctialis horæ dodrante transmisso, tardius sine intermissione, sive die venire, sive nocte. Porro si per tria quid dividere cupis, tertiam partem trientem, duas residuas bissem nuncupabis. Si per duo, dimidium semis appellatur. (Duodecima autem pars assis sive libræ est uncia; quæ habet scrupulos viginti quatuor, et sextulas sex, ac siliquas centum et quadra-

ginta quatuor. Scrupulus est brevis lapillus.) Sic et cætera, quæ verbo melius colloquentis, quam scribentis stilo disci pariter et doceri queunt. Item de corporibus, sive milliarium, sive stadium, sive jugerum, sive perticam, sive etiam cubitum, pedemve aut palmum partiri opus habes, præfata ratione facies. Denique et in Exodo, dimidium cubiti semis appellatur, narrante Mose, quod habuerit arca testamenti duos semis cubitos longitudinis, et cubitum ac semissem altitudinis. Et in Evangelio, quarta pars totius mundani corporis, id est, terra, mystice quadrantis nomine censetur: quum mittendo in pœnam peccatori dicitur, Non exies inde, donec reddas novissimum quadrantem: id est, donec luas terrena peccata, ut B. Augustinus exponit: Hoc enim, inquit, peccator audivit, Terra es, et in terram ibis. Quarta siquidem pars distinctorum membrorum hujus mundi, et novissima terra invenitur, ut incipias a cœlo, secundum aërem numeres, aquam tertiam, quartam terram. Qui etiam in expositione ubi scriptum est, erat autem parasceve paschæ, hora quasi sexta, hujusce disciplinæ meminit, dicens: non jam plena erat sexta, sed quasi sexta, id est, peracta quinta, et aliquid de sexta esse cœperat: nunquam autem isti dicerent, Quinta et quadrans, aut quinta et triens, aut quinta et semis, aut aliquid hujusmodi: si non hæ partes apud divinos autores vulgatæ invenirentur."

With a hope that the above few observations will induce some one of more capability than myself to dive deeper into this singular subject, and that what I have here brought together will be considered by the Members of the Society of sufficient importance for their consideration, I conclude these brief memoranda.

IX.—ON A FIGURE OF APHRODITE URANIA.

BY JAMES MILLINGEN, ESQ.

(Read May 28th, 1840.)

In the religious system of ancient Greece and some Asiatic states, if we except Zeus, whose supreme eminence and power excluded all rivality, no other divinity was the object of so great and extensive veneration as Aphrodite (Venus). Her worship was established at the earliest period, and in all civilized and many barbarous countries numerous temples were dedicated to her, in which she was honoured under various names and titles, and with symbols allusive to her attributions and functions.

This variety of names and symbols induced mythologists, at a later period, to suppose that several distinct divinities had been confounded under the common name of Aphrodite. Some distinguished four,[1] others three;[2] but the opinion of Plato,[3] who limits the number to two, seems to have been generally adopted.

A distinct origin and parentage was ascribed to these

[1] Cicero, de Nat. Deor. lib. iii.

[2] Pausanias, lib. ix. cap. 16. Phurnutus de N. D. cap. 24.

[3] Plato, Conviv. lib. iii. 180, edit. H. Stephan.

FIGURE OF APHRODITE URANIA

in the British Museum.

Drawn & Engraved by W. Henry Brooke F.S.A.

divinities. One of them was supposed to be the daughter of Zeus by Dione:[4] the other was considered the offspring of Uranus, but without a mother.[5] The first was distinguished by the epithet of *Pandemos*, 'the universal' or 'popular,' and to her influence all violent and disorderly passions and affections were ascribed: the other Aphrodite, from her father Uranus, was surnamed *Urania*, 'the celestial,' and, as the name implies, she inspired only pure and virtuous affections, with noble and elevated sentiments of every kind.

This distinction appears, however, to have been arbitrary, and an ingenious fiction of moralists and philosophers; to show how widely the opinions of men of enlightened minds differed from those entertained by the multitude.

Another motive, at the same time, was the consideration that the religion of the state, however corrupted and in many respects objectionable, was nevertheless indispensable to the preservation of order, and to the welfare and even existence of society. They therefore thought it a duty to defend the established worship against the insidious attacks with which infidels and cynics were attempting its destruction.

All that relates to the first of these two divinities is so well known, that nothing need be said on the subject, especially as the object of the present paper is to elucidate a monument which relates solely to the second.

The first mention of Aphrodite Urania which occurs is given by Herodotus,[6] who says that she was the same as Mylitta, the principal and a native divinity

[4] Apollodorus, lib. i. cap. 1.

[5] Plato, *loc. cit.* Hesiod, Theogon. v. 190-195.

[6] Herodotus, lib. i. cap. 131, 199; lib. iii. cap. 8.

of the Assyrians, and that she had a celebrated temple in Babylon in which obscene rites were celebrated. The same author informs us that the worship of Mylitta or Aphrodite Urania was introduced from Assyria into Phœnicia, where she received the name of Alitta and Astaroth,—into Persia, where she was called Mithra,—and into Arabia, where her name was Alilat. From Phœnicia her rites were subsequently introduced into Cyprus and Cythera, whence they were gradually adopted in every part of Greece.

This account of the origin of Aphrodite and the transmission of her worship into Greece is confirmed by Pausanias,[7] who adds that Ægeus introduced it into Athens, and Cadmus into Bœotia.[8]

It is much to be regretted that the description given by this author of her statues, and of the symbols which accompanied them, are extremely limited. At Paphos we know that she was represented by a conical stone,[9] in the same manner as other divinities at a very early age; but none such are mentioned to have been seen in Greece. The most ancient representation of her existing in Greece was, according to Pausanias,[10] a wooden figure armed, in her temple in Cythera. Another wooden figure, so ancient that it was attributed to Harmonia, the wife of Cadmus, was seen at Thebes,[11] but no mention of its attributes is given. At Athens, near the temple of Aphrodite ἐν Κήποις, was a terminal figure of Aphrodite Urania,[12] with an inscription which called her the eldest of the

[7] Pausanias, lib. ix. cap. 16. [8] Idem, lib. i. cap. 14.

[9] Tacitus, Hist. lib. ii. cap. 3. Maximus Tyrius, Dissert. 38. Philostratus, Vit. Apoll. lib. iii. cap. 58.

[10] Pausanias, lib. iii. cap. 23. Ξόανον ὡπλισμένον.

[11] Idem, lib. ix. cap. 16. [12] Idem, lib. i. cap. 19.

Fates (*Μοῖραι*). A chryselephantine statue of the goddess by Phidias, representing her with one foot resting on a tortoise, stood in a temple dedicated to her at Elis.[13] The author adds, that in the precincts (*τέμενος*) of the same temple was a brass figure, by Scopas, of Aphrodite Pandemos seated on a goat.

Among the works of art now existing in different collections no statues are found that can be assigned with certainty to Aphrodite Urania. It has been supposed by some antiquaries, that various gems exhibiting a female figure emerging from the sea represented this divinity,[14] on account of a star which accompanies the figure. But these representations are rather astronomical or astrological, and refer to the planet Venus, and its supposed influence on nativities and all human affairs.

This deficiency of monuments, and of ancient descriptions respecting them, renders still more probable what was before hinted, that the notion of a distinction between the two divinities was little attended to. In fact, the epithet of Urania appears to have been an addition of later times, as no mention of it is found in the Homeric poems, nor in any poets or writers earlier than Pindar and Herodotus.[15] Perhaps, indeed, it may have originated about the time of Pisistratus, when Greek legislators and philosophers began to travel in Egypt and the East for the acquisition of knowledge. It may be presumed that at the same epoch also the rites of Mylitta were introduced into Greece; and from a real or imaginary affinity between her functions and attributions and those of Aphrodite, the two divi-

[13] Pausanias, lib. vi. cap. 25.

[14] La Chausse, Gemme Antiche, tav. 76.

[15] Pindar, Fragm. Schol. i. 5. Herodotus, lib. i. cap. 105, 199.

nities were supposed to be identical, and the rites and ceremonies of the former were introduced into the worship of the latter. Hence also we may account for the introduction of obscene rites in the temples of Corinth, Eryx, and other cities, which certainly were unknown in the age of Homer or Hesiod, and probably in that of Solon.

The present monument, of which a drawing is annexed,[16] is perhaps the only one hitherto known which can be attributed with certainty to Aphrodite Urania. The goddess is represented, as in some ancient monuments,[17] recently emerged from the sea, and occupied in putting on the ambrosial garments prepared for her by the Graces. She is standing on one foot, which has a sandal on, with her body slightly inclined, and advancing, so as to enable her to adjust a sandal on the other foot, which is raised for the purpose. A slight veil or mantle, inflated by the wind, and retained with difficulty, forms round her head a kind of nimbus, of a very graceful character, such as is usually attributed by ancient artists to divinities of the air and sea.[18] In her left hand, which leans against a rudder, she holds an apple. Her head is covered with an elevated diadem or crown richly studded with gems, and surmounted by seven ornaments, which have the form of stars, and probably are typical of the seven planets. The pedestal on which she stands has the form of an altar, and indicates her divine nature.

A variety of emblems characteristic of other divinities are collected together, and disposed in such

[16] See Plate I.

[17] Visconti, Museo Pio Clem. tom. i. tav. 10.

[18] Vid. Moschus, Idyll. ii. 125, 6. Visconti, M. P. C. tom. vii. tav. 15.

a manner as to resemble a quadrangular pillar, which is placed on the left side of the goddess. On the summit of the pile at the two front angles are two Cupids,[19] perhaps Eros and Himeros; one holding a mirror, and an object which appears to be the half of a bivalve shell (κτείς): the other Cupid is engaged in taking an arrow from his quiver with one hand; the other hand is lost.

The emblems of which the pile is composed are the following:

1. A rudder (πηδάλιον), round which a dolphin is entwined, is an attribute common to Aphrodite as well as to Poseidon, but alluding more particularly to the marine origin of the former. The rudder is also an emblem of *Tyche* (Fortune), allusive to her supreme direction of human affairs:

2. A tympanum, two crotali or cymbals, a syrinx or unequal flute, are the attributes of Cybele, but common to Dionysius, Pan, and other divinities of this kind, whose mysteries were intermixed with those of Cybele:

3. A bow and quiver, attributes of Apollo and Artemis:

4. A torch, emblem of Ceres, Proserpine, and Hecate, though used also in the rites of many other divinities:

5. A mirror, the well known attribute of Aphrodite:

6. A club, allusive to Hercules:

7. A hammer, attribute of Hephæstus and the Cabiri:

8. A circular object surmounted by a crescent, perhaps the new and the full moon:

[19] Lucian, Dialog. Deorum, cap. 20.

9. Two objects, resembling the horn of plenty, on which the two Cupids are supported.

On the left angle of the altar was anciently a bird, of which the claws alone remain, showing that it was an eagle, the emblem of Jupiter and Cybele. On the opposite angle are the vestiges of a triangular object, in all probability a tripod or triangular altar, allusive to the sacrifices offered to the goddess.

From this description it will easily be seen how different the present representation is from all those of which any notion is formed. That such monuments must have been uncommon is obvious, because they relate to mythological opinions which formed no part of the established religion, but opinions entertained by sectaries, and inculcated perhaps in the Orphic, Bendidian, and other foreign mysteries, which were only tolerated. We possess, however, sufficient information, afforded by various authors, for its explanation.

Without entering into many details on a subject so intricate, and which would require much time to develope with any degree of clearness and accuracy, it is requisite for the present object to offer a summary statement, as given by Plutarch,[20] of the religious opinions prevalent at the time he wrote, more particularly as it is the age to which the monument may probably be referred.

Speaking of the various notions respecting the origin and nature of the gods, he states, that " those which we consider as gods are not different in different countries, neither peculiar to barbarians or to Greeks, nor to the north or the south; but, as the sun, the moon, the heavens, the earth, and the sea,

[20] De Iside et Osiride, cap. 7.

are common to the whole world, though differently named in different countries, in like manner the One Supreme Intelligence (*Λόγος*) which created the world, the One Providence which regulates it, and the subordinate ministering powers appointed to preside over all its parts, as guardians to mortal men, though venerated with various rites and by various appellations, according to the laws and customs of different countries, are nevertheless every where one and the same."

This opinion was almost universally received by philosophers and men of enlightened minds. But a great difference prevailed respecting the first principle or creative power. In general it was identified with or personified in Zeus (Jupiter),[21] but it was frequently also attributed to material objects. Thus, by different sects, water, fire, air, or other elementary substances, were supposed to constitute this principle.

The first material objects venerated in the East appear to have been the sun, moon, stars, and the heavens in general. Such was the religion of the Assyrians,[22] who worshipped the sun under the name of Baal, and the moon as Mylitta.

The latter seems also to have been considered as the entire firmament (*τὸ Κοῖλον*), or Uranus, whence her name of Urania,[23] given by the Greeks; and in the sacred Scriptures frequent mention is made of her as the queen of heaven.[24] When considered as the moon she was supposed to unite the two sexes; and in

[21] Orphica, Fragm. IV.

[22] Plutarch, de Placit. Philosoph. lib. i. cap. 3.

[23] Herodotus, lib. i. cap. 131.

[24] *Βασιλίσσῃ τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ*, Jeremiah, xliv. 17, *et seq.* See also Judges, ii. 13; 1 Samuel, vii. 4; 1 Kings, xi. 5; Jeremiah, vii. 18.

various parts of Phœnicia and Asia her statues were androgynous. In either case she was esteemed the great productive principle, and as presiding over generation. This is explained by Varro, who says, "Cœlum a quo fiat aliud, Terram de qua fiat."[25] In that system which held love (ἔρως) to be the First Cause, he was identified with Aphrodite, who, as before stated, was considered androgynous.

Consistently with the system of viewing as identical the divinities of different countries, whenever an analogy of attributes or rites was found between them, Aphrodite Urania was confounded with Cybele, Juno, Ceres, and several other goddesses. In the account of the temple and worship of the Syrian goddess at Hierapolis,[26] after relating the various contradictory traditions respecting the origin and the nature of the divinity venerated therein, Lucian states as his opinion, that from her statue and its emblems she appeared chiefly to be Hera (Juno), but at the same time she had something of Athene, Selene, Rhea, Artemis, Nemesis, the Fates, and particularly of Aphrodite Urania.

This explanation of Lucian appears in a great measure fanciful; but, from the representation of the Syrian goddess on the coins of Heliopolis, she seems to have been figured as Cybele or Rhea, and Selene (the moon), with whom Aphrodite Urania was commonly identified.[27] Appian, in fact, speaking of the same divinity, says, "by some she is called Hera,

[25] Varro, in Augustin. de Civ. Dei, lib. vii. cap. 28.

[26] De Dea Syria, cap. 33, tom. iii. p. 476, edit. Reitz.

[27] Aphrodite was called Cybele by the Phrygians and Lydians; Hesych. Lex. v. Κύβηβος, Κυβήλιδυς Ἀφρογενείας: Nonnus Dionys. lib. xlviii. v. 698.

by others Aphrodite, and by others held to be Nature, the cause of all things through humidity."[28] The story of the passion of Aphrodite for Adonis, and her grief at his fatal death, which were commemorated by mysteries, is the same as the fable of Cybele and Attis, and of Isis and Osiris, as many ancient authors have remarked.

The present monument was probably executed by order of an individual of the Orphic sect, and a peculiar votary of Aphrodite Urania, who venerated her exclusively as the great principle of the creation, and the supreme divinity. As such he has given her the emblems of Zeus, Poseidon, Apollo, Artemis, Tyche, and other divinities, considered as her subordinate ministers, or types of her extensive power and properties.

Pantheic representations of this kind appear to have been little known by the Greeks or by the Romans before the time of the first Cæsars. They gradually came into fashion, chiefly from superstitious motives, and were engraved on gems of various kinds, intended to serve as amulets as well as seals. Most frequently they are of an astronomical nature, and refer to nativities, and the influence of the planets and heavenly bodies over human affairs.[29]

This figure of Aphrodite,[30] though probably a work of a comparatively late period, is highly graceful and elegant in form, attitude, and general composition, and offers without doubt the copy of a production of the

[28] De Bello Parthico, cap. 28. Plutarch, in Crasso, p. 271.

[29] Sainte Croix, Mystères du Paganisme, tom. ii. pp. 103, 104, edit. Paris, 1817; with the notes of Silvestre de Sacy.

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best period of Grecian art. In fact, we find a figure precisely the same on the coins of Aphrodisias of Caria,[31] which we may presume to have been a copy of one of the statues placed in the temple of the goddess in that city, which, as its name implies, was particularly devoted to her worship. The original may have been the work of a native artist, as we have several remaining sculptures of considerable merit, which prove that the arts were successfully cultivated in that city.[32]

That this figure was intended to represent the Aphrodite called Urania, may be inferred, not only from the preference which would naturally be given to an Asiatic divinity in an Asiatic city, but because we find in other coins of Aphrodisias[33] an archaic figure of Aphrodite, with the polos on her head, and with a star and crescent, special symbols of Urania. The difference in the manner of representing the divinity proceeds from the different periods of the execution, as there were at Athens two figures of Minerva; one resembling a rude log; the other of ivory and gold, in the

[31] Haym. Tesor. Britann. tom. ii. p. 93. Pellerin, Peuples et Villes, tom. ii. Pl. LXVI. No. 22.

[32] The names of two sculptors of Aphrodisias, Aristeas and Papias, are inscribed on one of the marble centaurs of the Capitol; Fuggini, Mus. Capitol. tom. iv. tav. 13, 14. The name of Zeno, another sculptor of Aphrodisias, is found on a senatorial statue in the Villa Ludovisi, and also on a terminal figure in the Villa Negrini; Winckelmann, Stor. dell Arti, tom. ii. p. 370.

[33] Haym. Tesor. Brit. tom. ii. tav. 14, n. 32. Pellerin, P. et V. tom. ii. Pl. LXVI. No. 19. Behind the goddess is a female figure seated in a great chair; before it is a vase, probably one of those called gardens of Adonis. A coin of the same city, struck under Caracalla, represents the same composition, placed within a tetrastyle Ionic temple or ædicula; Haym. tom. ii. tav. 15, n. 1.

perfection of beauty, by Phidias. There may, however, have been several temples of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias, where she was venerated under different epithets and attributes.

An inquiry into the origin and progress of the worship of Aphrodite in Greece and Grecian colonies is a great desideratum, and would be of much utility, not only to archæology, but also to history and philology in general, from its connexion with those studies.

In consequence of a prize having been founded by Count Caylus, several memoirs on this subject were submitted to the judgment of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres of Paris.[34] Of these, one by Larcher, known for his translation of Herodotus, received the prize. Another memoir by l'Abbé de la Chausse was held next in merit, and received the *accessit*.

These memoirs, which have been printed,[35] contain many passages from ancient authors, and the description of a few monuments, but add little information with regard to the question itself. Since these essays appeared, the great number of ancient monuments which have come to light, and the progress which archæological science has made in the interval, furnish the means of resuming an inquiry with prospects of greater success. Such an undertaking, however, should be conducted on a philosophical and critical principle, consistently with the general state of science at the present day; and especially it should be divested of the spirit of system, which has pervaded

[34] The prize was founded in 1754, but the competition only took place in 1775.

[35] Larcher, Dissertation, &c. Paris, 1776. De la Chausse; edit. Paris, 1776.

various past, and still appears in some recent attempts, and which, instead of rendering the subject more clear and perspicuous, tends to involve it in additional obscurity. Hence the little esteem in which archæology is generally held.

In conclusion, two short remarks shall be offered. 1st. In his description of Elis, Pausanias speaks of a brass statue by Scopas, of Aphrodite Pandemos, seated on a goat,[36] but declines giving any explanation of the motives for attributing to her such an extraordinary emblem. Probably it was from that emblem that the epithet of Pandemos was attributed to the statue, at the time when Pausanias saw it; but there is reason to think that it was first intended to represent the Syrian goddess Urania; since, in fact, all the obscene rites and mysteries celebrated in Greece were introduced with her worship. This may be farther inferred from the proverb *Αἶξ οὐρανία*, which is explained by ancient grammarians[37] from the goddess riding on a goat, *διὰ τὸ τὴν Σελήνην αὐτῇ ἐποχεῖσθαι*: Mylitta or Aphrodite Urania being, as previously said, no other than the moon.[38]

2dly. It is generally supposed that the name of Aphrodite given to the goddess alluded to her origin and birth from the foam of the sea, *Ἀφρός*. This etymology, however, appears unfounded, and it is far more probable that the name was known long before.

In fact, this etymology was unknown to Homer, and rests solely on the authority of the Theogony attri-

[36] Pausanias, lib. vi. cap. 25.

[37] Suidæ Lexicon, v. *Οὐρανία αἶξ*. See also Photius.

[38] *Ἀστάρτην δ' ἐγὼ δοκέω Σελήνην ἔμμεναι*. Lucian. de Dea Syria, cap. 4.

buted to Hesiod, but which, as Hermann[39] has proved, is a compound of seven or more different theogonies strung together, and, for the most part, of a comparatively late age, as is evident from the language, the style, and the Orphic doctrines it exhibits. In this, as in many other cases, the fable was invented in order to account for the name, of which the true derivation remains still uncertain.

[39] Epistola ad C. D. Olgenium, Hymnorum Homericorum editioni Lipsiæ, 1806, præmissa.

X.—REMARKS ON THE ANCIENT MATERIALS OF THE PROPYLA AT KARNAC. In a Letter to Sir Gardner Wilkinson.

BY M. E. PRISSE.

(Read Nov. 26th, 1840.)

Monsieur,

A son passage à Thèbes, M. Harris m'a communiqué une lettre dans laquelle vous le chargiez de prendre des renseignemens sur les démolitions qui avaient eu lieu à Karnac depuis votre départ, et de copier, s'il en était temps encore, les légendes des anciens Pharaons qu'on disait couvrir de vieilles pierres employées dans ces monumens. Comme j'avais été constamment témoin[1] de cette destruction d'édifices, respectés tant de siècles par le temps et les barbares, M. Harris m'a prié de vouloir bien vous communiquer les légendes anciennes, recueillies sur les débris de ces vieux édifices, et je m'empresse, Monsieur, de répondre à ses desirs et aux vôtres.

Trois petits temples situés aux alentours du temple de Mauth à Karnac, et marqués R, O, N, T 4, sur votre superbe plan de Thèbes, disparurent d'abord

[1] M. Clot Bey, à qui j'écrivis à plusieurs reprises, fut le seul qui parut s'intéresser au sort de ces monumens. C'est à lui qu'on doit la conservation de plusieurs petits tombeaux de Gournah, qu'on allait détruire pour faire de la chaux.

pour fournir des matériaux à la construction d'une salpétrière, sans m'offrir aucune trace de pierres antiques, subséquemment employées dans leur bâtisse. Le premier pylône des propylées du sud (marqué 32 sur votre plan) subit le même sort sans présenter, non plus, des débris d'édifices plus anciens.

Ces travaux de démolition paraissaient suspendus, quand j'appris deux mois après, à votre habitation de Gournah, où j'étais allé passer quelques jours, que les démolisseurs avaient recommencé avec plus d'ardeur que jamais, et que le troisième pylône était exploité comme une nouvelle carrière. Je me rendis à Karnac, et j'arrivai encore assez à temps, pour sauver de la barbarie quelques légendes hiéroglyphiques inconnues, faible dédommagement de cette majestueuse grandeur qui s'en allait à jamais.[2]

Je remarquai d'abord dans la partie orientale du pylône qu'on venait d'entamer, deux assises de pierres portant des inscriptions hiératiques qui me paraissent avoir été tracées sur le chantier de carrière; puis de nombreuses pierres provenant d'édifices antérieurs, et couvertes encore de fragmens de légendes et de bas-reliefs. Les blocs les plus élevés portaient les cartouches de *Amounoph III.* (fig. 1),[3] dont le prénom, *Soleil seigneur de justice*, avait été épargné, tandis que le nom

[2] Un des ouvriers, employés à ces travaux, me présenta une mesure antique en sapin, trouvée parmi les pierres. Elle est parfaitement conservée et divisée en 14 parties, dont une est subdivisée en 4 et une autre en 2 seulement. Cette mesure, qui approche beaucoup du mètre, a de longueur $1^{m}\cdot050$ ou 3^{p} 5^{pou} $\frac{3}{8}$ Anglais, et me paraît être une *coudée doublée*, pour en faciliter l'usage (la coudée d'Eléphantine= $0^{m}\cdot570$). Appliquée aux édifices de Thèbes elle correspond parfaitement aux principales mesures, et d'après M. Perring les passages des pyramides ont exactement, pour largeur, cette mesure antique.

[3] Plate III.

était soigneusement martelé.[4] A côté de ces pierres, une portion de corniche présentait les cartouches de *Amoun-Toônkh* que vous avez supposé être le *Danaüs* des Grecs. Enfin, parmi ces légendes, se trouvaient celles d'un Pharaon inconnu, appelé *Amoun-mes* ou *Amenemes*. A en juger par le travail des bas-reliefs, à défaut d'autres indices, ces trois légendes paraissent appartenir à la même période de l'art Egyptien.

L'autre partie du pylône était composée de pierres provenant d'un édifice consacré au culte de ATEN-RE, ou le soleil, figuré par un globe décoré de l'uraus et duquel divergent de nombreux rayons, terminés par des mains qui tiennent alternativement des emblêmes de la vie et de la puissance, le tau et le sceptre à tête de coucoupha. La fig. 2 donne une légende complète de cette divinité qui rappelle les attributs de HAR-OERI (*aroeris*) *l'œil bienfaisant du soleil*. J'ai aussi observé parmi les fragmens de ces bas-reliefs, une figure à tête d'épervier, portant la même légende qu' *Aten-re*.

Les pierres employées dans cette partie du pylône, étaient de dimensions énormes, et pour abréger le travail on les divisait au moyen de la poudre. Quand j'arrivai sur les lieux, on allait mettre le feu à quelques mêches : je fis suspendre l'opération quelques instans, pour dessiner sur un bloc d'environ deux mêtres de longueur, un sphinx submergé dans des rayons d'*Aten-re* (fig. 3). A peine avais-je terminé, que la pierre fut en éclats, mais heureusement la tête caractéristique

[4] Ce fait, que j'avais déjà observé à Gournah, à Silsilis, etc., et auquel je ne saurais donner la même interprétation que vous, est trop vaste pour vous en entretenir dans une note, et fera, Monsieur, avec quelques autres documens, relatifs à diverses dynasties, le sujet d'autres lettres.

de ce Pharaon, quoique toute fendillée, était encore assez bien conservée pour que j'en puisse prendre une empreinte sur papier mâché, d'après laquelle je retouchai mon dessin à loisir.

Une autre pierre du même monument m'a présenté, aussi submergé dans des rayons d'*Aten-re*, un autre Pharaon dont la légende effacée ne laissait plus lire distinctement, que le nom d'*Amounoph* (fig. 5. B). C'est sans doute par les cartouches que j'ai retrouvés ailleurs (fig. 5. B′) et que dans votre premier ouvrage,[5] Monsieur, vous avez placés comme variantes de *Amoun-Toônkh*, qu'il faut compléter les légendes de ce Pharaon, qui paraît avoir précédé un autre roi, appelé *Aten-re Bakhan* ou *Baschan* (fig. 5. C), que Champollion (Lettres au Duc de Blacas, page 106) avait rangé trop précipitamment dans la vingtième dynastie. En effet, celui-ci a sculpté quelque fois ses légendes sur celles de cet *Amunoph;* témoin une pierre du dernier pylône sur laquelle on remarque ce dernier cartouche surchargé. Voy. fig. 5. B′.

Enfin la plupart des pierres représentaient le Pharaon *Baschan* faisant des offrandes, ou brûlant de l'encens sous les rayons du soleil. J'ai copié deux bas-reliefs de ce genre, assez complets, mais trop grands pour prendre place ici.

Permettez-moi, Monsieur, de vous communiquer quelques reflexions suggérées par l'examen attentif des dernières pierres dont je viens de vous entretenir. L'invasion des *Pasteurs* est un fait de grande importance dans l'histoire de l'Egypte, mais excepté un passage de Manéthon rapporté par Josèphe, tous les autres historiens l'ont passé sous silence. Les monumens,

[5] Materia Hieroglyphica, Part II. Plate I.

various parts of Phœnicia and Asia her statues were androgynous. In either case she was esteemed the great productive principle, and as presiding over generation. This is explained by Varro, who says, "Cœlum a quo fiat aliud, Terram de qua fiat."[25] In that system which held love (ἔρως) to be the First Cause, he was identified with Aphrodite, who, as before stated, was considered androgynous.

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[27] Aphrodite was called Cybele by the Phrygians and Lydians; Hesych. Lex. v. Κύβηβος, Κυβήλιδυς Ἀφρογενείας: Nonnus Dionys. lib. xlviii. v. 698.

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The present monument was probably executed by order of an individual of the Orphic sect, and a peculiar votary of Aphrodite Urania, who venerated her exclusively as the great principle of the creation, and the supreme divinity. As such he has given her the emblems of Zeus, Poseidon, Apollo, Artemis, Tyche, and other divinities, considered as her subordinate ministers, or types of her extensive power and properties.

Pantheic representations of this kind appear to have been little known by the Greeks or by the Romans before the time of the first Cæsars. They gradually came into fashion, chiefly from superstitious motives, and were engraved on gems of various kinds, intended to serve as amulets as well as seals. Most frequently they are of an astronomical nature, and refer to nativities, and the influence of the planets and heavenly bodies over human affairs.[29]

This figure of Aphrodite,[30] though probably a work of a comparatively late period, is highly graceful and elegant in form, attitude, and general composition, and offers without doubt the copy of a production of the

[28] De Bello Parthico, cap. 28. Plutarch, in Crasso, p. 271.

[29] Sainte Croix, Mystères du Paganisme, tom. ii. pp. 103, 104, edit. Paris, 1817; with the notes of Silvestre de Sacy.

[30] A remarkable figure of this kind, in silver, formerly belonging to R. Payne Knight, is preserved in the British Museum.

à la quatorzième dynastie. Au dire de Jules l'Africain, et aussi d'Eusèbe ce furent des *Phéniciens;* et par là il faut peut-être entendre les habitans des déserts voisins, entre la Chaldée et le pays de *Sabá.* Plus tard ce furent des pasteurs *Hellènes*, qui firent une nouvelle irruption en Egypte, mais l'on est tenté d'attribuer cette nouvelle dénomination à la flatterie de Manéthon, qui introduisit aussi un *Macédona* dans les dynasties Egyptiennes.

La ressemblance de ces Pharaons avec les habitans de l'Arabie méridionale, mélange de la race Arabe-Caucasienne avec la race Ethiopique, l'analogie de leur culte avec celui des *Homérites* (Hemyarites) qui occupaient *Mariaba* ou *Sabá*, et adoraient le soleil, engagent à chercher parmi les anciens *Tobbas*, ou rois de l'Yemen, le pasteur conquérant qui envahit l'Egypte. L'Arabie de temps immémorial, se partageait en deux grandes nations, les *Aribah* et les *Maady*, et l'on sait que les premiers ont porté leurs armes en Abyssinie, et même que les Tobbas, Hemyarites, ou Yemanites ont possedé ce pays ; et sans compter la grande invasion du septième siècle de notre ère, qui changea à jamais la destinée de l'Egypte, on sait encore que les Arabes firent de fréquentes incursions sur les rives du Nil, sous les Pharaons, les Ptolemées, et les Césars. Enfin, c'est plutôt au retour des pasteurs dans leur patrie, qu'il faut attribuer l'origine des édifices et des hypogées de style Egyptien, existant dans la péninsule, qu'aux conquêtes problématiques de Sésostris : les tentatives infructueuses de plusieurs conquérans Egyptiens, Perses, et Romains, semblent confirmer le dire des Arabes, qu'ils n'ont jamais été asservis à un chef étranger : " Ni les rois de Perse, ni ceux même de Macédoine, malgré toute leur puissance, ne purent jamais les soumettre," dit Diodore.

Quant aux barbares dévastations des pasteurs, les monumens qui subsistent encore prouvent qu'elles sont aussi exagérées que celles des Perses, qui étaient devenues un sujet de doléance pour les vaniteux Egyptiens. Il est probable au contraire que les pasteurs, comme les conquérans Ethiopiens, Perses, Grecs, et Romains, au lieu de tout détruire, ont aussi édifié; et l'on rencontre encore en Egypte des monumens de la passagère domination des Ethiopiens et même des Perses. Le nom de Cambyse ne se trouve, il est vrai, sur *aucun temple*, mais celui de Darius se lit, précédé du titre de *Dieu bienfaisant* sur le temple principal de l'Oasis de Thèbes, et le même honneur fut aussi accordé à Xerxes le Grand. Si les temples consacrés au soleil, et les hypogées où l'on retrouve le culte d'*Aten-re*, appartiennent réellement à l'époque des *pasteurs*, leur règne dut être florissant, glorieux, et justifiait sans doute ce beau titre de leur légende: *Rois équitables, Rois vivans dans la justice.*[7]

En résumé, les invasions et la domination des pasteurs forment un problème historique, qui amène des questions trop complexes pour trouver une solution satisfaisante dans les matériaux qu'on possède aujourd'hui; il faut que de nouveaux faits nous viennent à notre aide, pour soulever le voile mystérieux qui obscurcit encore cette page de l'antique histoire d'Egypte.

Mais je m'apperçois, Monsieur, qu'au lieu d'un *postscriptum* que je comptais écrire, je me suis laissé entraîner par le sujet, à vous faire une nouvelle lettre,

[7] Voyez fig. 9 la légende complette de Bakhan, laquelle se traduit: *Set et Souten vivant dans la vérité ou la justice, le seigneur du monde (soleil bienfaiteur du monde, aimant le soleil,) le fils du soleil, vivant dans la justice, le seigneur des diadémes* ATEN-RA BAKHAN).

que je soumets comme son annexe, à votre examen et à votre indulgence.

Agréez, Monsieur, etc.,

E. Prisse, Arch^te.

P.S. Avant de clorre ce pli, il faut vous signaler une erreur qui s'est glissée dans ma première lettre, à propos de la bannière de *Bakhan* que j'ai confondue avec une autre en la copiant de mon calepin. La bannière que j'ai accolée aux cartouches de Bakhan existe sur des pierres éboulées du quatrième pylône du sud, et doit appartenir à *Horus* (*anamek* ou *hor nem neb*), ainsi que le prouvent les légendes des sphinx de l'avenue du sud-est; tandis que la bannière (fig. 11) sculptée sur deux pierres encore enclavées dans l'intérieur du massif oriental, doit appartenir, je pense, à Amounoph ou à Bakhan. En effet la légende qu'elle contient est bien en harmonie avec la dévotion spéciale de ces Pharaons, et fait partie des titres du dieu *Emphé*, forme de *Meoui*, comme vous pouvez le voir ci-dessus, fig. 8 bis.

Note ajoutée.—Depuis la rédaction de cet article, M. L'Hôte dans ses *Lettres d'Egypte* (1840) a publié *une* bannière d'*Aten-ré Bakhan* qui porte un caractère d'authenticité que la mienne n'a pas, puisqu'elle se trouve isolée des cartouches, auxquels je crois qu'elle se rapporte. Néanmoins, je persiste à croire qu'elle appartient à Bakhan ou à Amounôph, et l'on sait d'ailleurs que plusieurs Pharaons ont adopté successivement ou à la fois diverses bannières: ainsi dans le seul palais de Karnac, *Osireï* 1er porte *neuf* bannières différentes, son fils *Ramsès II.* en a *huit*, *Ramsès-Meiamoun*, *six*, &c. &c. Il résulte de ce fait que les bannières, loin de caractériser les Pharaons d'une manière plus précise comme l'avance M. L'Hôte, les désignent au contraire d'une manière si vague, qu'il pourrait exister *plusieurs siècles*, entre des monumens caractérisés seulement par la même bannière. Ce sujet sera développé dans un autre article.

XII.—PRESENT STATE OF THE SITES OF ANTÆOPOLIS, ANTINOE, AND HERMOPOLIS, ON THE BANKS OF THE NILE.

BY T. J. NEWBOLD, LIEUTENANT IN THE MADRAS ARMY.

(Read Nov. 26th, 1840.)

ANTÆOPOLIS. (Lat. 26° 55′ north).

Dr. Russell, in his work on Egypt, describes Antæopolis as presenting in 1813 a portico of a temple consisting of three rows, each of six columns, eight feet in diameter, and, with their entablatures, sixty-two feet high, standing in a thick grove of palm-trees close to the Nile,—the columns, architraves, and, indeed, every stone in the building, covered with hieroglyphics in bas-relief. At the furthest extremity of the temple was an immense block of granite, of a pyramidal form, twelve feet high, and nine feet square at the base, in which a niche was cut seven feet in height, four feet wide, and three deep. From the temple a quay extended inland for purposes of trade, and to prevent the encroachment of the river. The ruins of the temple, when Hamilton visited them in 1802, were three hundred feet long; on each side of the entrance stood an erect serpent with a mitre on its head; and the frieze comprehended the usual orna-

serais tenté de le faire remonter à cet Amounoph ou à Bakhan, plutôt qu'à Skhaï ou Amoun-Tôonkh, parceque Bakhan reçoit déjà l'hommage et les tributs des mêmes peuples dans l'hypogée d'un scribe royal, nommé *Raschaï* à *Tell amarna*.

L'examen le plus minutieux du pylône de Karnac n'a amené aucune découverte de légendes inédites, et n'a servi qu'à constater l'emploi des pierres d'un petit édifice, dont le reste des matériaux fut utilisé dans les deux pylônes les plus méridionaux de l'avenue du sud : ce qui atteste que ces trois entrées triomphales furent élevées simultanément avec les débris des mêmes édifices.

Les pierres, employées dans ces trois pylônes, appartenaient à deux édifices différens, mais tous deux de la même époque et consacrés au même Dieu, le soleil. L'un était de proportion colossale, à en juger par les dimensions des pierres et les fragmens des bas-reliefs, dont le style se rapproche de l'époque de *Thôutmes III.* et d'*Amounoph Memnon*. Sur ces bas-reliefs Bakhan n'a plus le ventre proéminent, les formes prononcées, les traits caractéristiques, qu'on lui voit toujours sur les autres monumens de Karnac, ainsi qu'à *Tounch-el-Gebel* et *Tell amarna* (Voy. fig. 6) :[5] on dirait que le sculpteur a embelli sa figure, qui ressemble beaucoup ici à celle d'Amounoph III. Dans cet édifice tout colossal, le soleil sous sa forme la plus sensible, la plus éclatante, partage avec *Phré hiérocephale* (fig. 7), un autre Dieu *Meou* ou *Meoui* (fig. 8), et *Emphe-meoui* fils du soleil[6] (fig. 8 bis), l'encens et les offrandes des Pharaons.

[5] Ce portrait a été copié dans la grotte la plus méridionale de *Tell amarna*, où le visage de ce Pharaon est parfaitement conservé.

[6] Cette divinité porte la même coiffure que *Hermès-Trismegiste*. Voy. Wilkinson, *Materia Hieroglyphica*, Plate XXIX.

L'autre édifice dont on retrouve bien plus de débris, était aussi bien plus remarquable sous tous les rapports, et sans la barbarie des officiers Turcs qui présidaient aux travaux, et détruisaient, brisaient en éclats, à mesure qu'ils démolissaient, j'aurais peut-être pu reconstruire de tous les membres épars quelque page historique, perdue à jamais. Une chose intéressante à noter pour l'histoire de l'architecture, c'est la construction de cet édifice : à en juger par les bas-reliefs qui couvrent les pierres (v. la fig. 5), ce temple était construit d'une manière plus régulière que les édifices Egyptiens qui subsistent aujourd'hui, et qui n'offrent pour la plupart, que des assises de hauteurs inégales, composées de pierres de coupes irrégulières, dans le genre des murs de *Volterra.* Le petit édifice d'Amounôph et de Bakhan était construit en assises de même hauteur, qui présentent alternativement une pierre carrée, et une pierre rectangulaire ou barlongue, dans ce genre d'appareil appelé par les Grecs, *Diatonous.* Le travail des bas-reliefs n'est pas *léché;* il est rude, mais le style en est plein de variété, de mouvement et de vérité, en comparaison des monotones et fastidieuses représentations qui subsistent encore aujourd'hui. L'art Egyptien, comme on le sait, n'était pas une chose que chaque homme traitait à sa fantaisie, et l'on voit ici avec plaisir que l'artiste, tout en se modelant sur la forme consacrée, a souvent écouté la nature et son génie. Presque toutes les figures sont représentées de profil, mais dans la plupart, le haut du corps, au lieu d'être de face, comme dans les sculptures de la meilleure époque, est représenté aussi de profil, ce qui ajoute encore au mérite de ces bas-reliefs. Les prêtres et tous les adorateurs du soleil ont des positions humbles et respectueuses, qu'on ne rencontre jamais

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the catalogue of the reserved collection of the P. de Canino;[3] and a third in the Annali[4] of the Archæological Institute of Rome. On all of these, Hercules, under his usual attributes, attacks the τετράορον φάσμα[5] ταύρου, vomiting blood or water like the Chedyas[6] on the coins of Aluntium in Sicily. The present offers a scene totally different; Hercules (Ἡρακλέες) having unsuccessfully with his club attacked the first form assumed by the river god, has thrown aside his weapon, and rushes unarmed to grapple with the new apparition. The Achelous (Ἀχελοῖος) has assumed the shape of a large fish, terminating above in the bust of a man, still retaining the horn and ear of a bull, with features very different from those of the hero. Their attitude recalls to mind an athletic contest; the right arm of Hercules presses the throat of the Achelous, while his left bears down upon the horn, in order to bend him to the earth. The Achelous is on the defensive, endeavouring with his hands to remove the grasp of his opponent. The composition, perhaps imitated from the monomachia of Hercules and Triton, shows that the artist has either followed some particular tradition, or else alludes to the character of the Achelous as a river. In the opening scene of the Trachiniæ the poet makes Dejanira exclaim—

> Μνηστὴρ[7] γὰρ ἦν μοι ποταμὸς, Ἀχελῷον λέγω,
> Ὅς μ' ἐν τρισὶν μορφαῖσιν ἐξῄτει πατρὸς,

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[3] Description d'une Collection de Vases peints, &c.; provenants des fouilles de l'Etrurie, par J. de Witte. 8vo. Paris, 1837. No. 92. Cf. n. 1.

[4] Gerhard. Rapp. Volc. n. 369. Berlins Antike Bildwerke, Nos. 661 and 669. Cf. Millin Vases II. 10.

[5] Dissertation of M. L. Ulrichs, 1839, p. 265-71.

[6] Mionnet, vol. i. p. 219.

[7] Sophocl. ed. Brunck. Nevius, 8vo. Lips. 1831. Βούπρωρα αὐτῷ

> Φοιτῶν ἐναργὴς ταῦρος ἄλλοτ' αἰόλος
> Δράκων ἑλικτὸς ἄλλοτ' ἀνδρείῳ κύτει,
> Βούπρωρος.[8]

Since the assumption of the form of a bull is attested by all the ancient authorities, and no mention occurs of more than three changes of the river god in any, it is evident that the fish replaces the snake; and the action so strictly agrees with the description of Ovid,[9] as hardly to leave any doubt upon this point:

> Dixerat, et summo digitorum vincula collo
> Injicit. Angebar, seu guttura forcipe pressus:
> Pollicibusque meas pugnabam evellere fauces;
> Sic quoque devicto restabat tertia tauri
> Forma trucis. Metam. IX. 77-89.

I have already elsewhere observed that the artists, in order to avoid any equivoque between this myth and that of Theseus and the Minotaur, seldom, if ever, represented the Achelous[10] with a bull's head and human body, an opinion which admits of some restriction; and the changes are not arbitrary, but analogous to the types of other rivers on works of Greek art. The bull with a human head, for example, (ἐναργὴς ταῦρος) is similar to the Gelas on the coins of Gela, to the Chedyas on those of Aluntium, to the Sebethus on those of Neapolis, as has already been ingeniously pointed out by Mr. Millingen,—a fact

πρόσωπα καὶ γενειὰς ἀμφιλαφῆς, πηγαί τε ναμάτων ἐκπλημμυροῦσαι τοῦ γενείου. Not. apud eund. Philostrat. Some editions of this play read τοπῷ instead of κύτει, and Βουκρᾶνος instead of Βούπρωρος.

[8] Cf. also Philostrat. Imag. c. iv.

[9] The order of the changes in Ovid differs from the version of Sophocles; and if Ovid's is the Græco-Italian version, the vase under consideration represents the river assuming his last type.

[10] Num. Chronicle, vol. i. p. 222. Cf. Müller. C. O. Arch. der Kunst. 642.

not unnoticed by the ancients,[11] although the assigned reason, that they indicated the roaring of the stream,[12] may admit of considerable doubt. The connexion of bulls with marine deities is also traced in the story of Jupiter and Europa, who strangely crosses the sea with facility under this form, and in the change of Proteus[13] into the same animal. The form of a snake, although not restricted to sea gods, as in the instances of Zeus Sabazios[14] and Æsculapius,[15] yet finds its parallel in the metamorphoses of Proteus and Thetis, while the explanation proposed for rivers assuming such a type, to indicate the obliquity of their course, does not explain why Thetis, not a river but a sea goddess, should have undergone the same change. Now the earlier coins of Gela in Sicily, which represent the Gelas[16] as a human-headed bull, are replaced by the more recent currency, in which the same river is represented as a youthful head with a pair of diminished horns, the whole surrounded by fishes,—a type connecting the rivers with Pan, the Satyrs, or the Fauns, and the young Sileni. On the altar of Oropus the Achelous was allied with Pan, and in one instance he punished in a peculiar manner the nymphs who neglected to worship him along with the rustic deities. The poets drawing their inspiration from

[11] *ὅμως δὲ οἱ τιμῶντες αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα αὐτῶν ἐργαζόμενοι, οἱ μὲν ἀνθρωπομόρφους ἱδρύσαντο, οἱ δὲ βόων εἶδος αὐτοῖς περιέθηκαν.* Ælian de Animal. II. xxxiii. Cf. Horat. Od. IV. 14. Sic *tauriformis* volvitur Aufidus.

[12] Homer, Φ. 237. Strabo, X.

[13] Ovid, Met. VIII. 734.

[14] Clemens Alex. Protrept. Cf. Suid. et Harpocrat. in voce. Diod. Sic. IV.

[15] Ovid, Met. XV. 622 et seqq.

[16] Cf. also the Selinus. Pellerin. Rec. CXI. 60, the Hypsas, Cast. LXV. 4, 5, 3, 8, &c.; the Amenanos, idem, XXIII. 14.

pictorial sources have consequently blended with the myth the two grades of form which the arts of painting and sculpture adopted at different epochs; and it would appear that the rivers primevally identified with the sea deities were, owing to a more pleasing adaptation of their types, subsequently confounded with the rustic or telluric gods;[17] and the countenance of the Achelous on the present vase is apparently modelled on that of the Satyrs[18] and the Centaurs. The artist here has considered the Achelous like Triton, Scylla, and the Phœnician Oannes or Dagon, following the earlier and best attested mythology, which makes him the son of Oceanus[19] and Gaia, or Tethys,[20] a genealogy probably invented after the Doric invasion; and the whole story was introduced into the Heracleid to indicate the progress of the Dorians towards the Peloponnese, the name of the Achelous having superseded the older and probably Pelasgic name of Thoas[21] conferred upon this river. As is the case with all large rivers, sea fishes[22] frequently ascended the Achelous to

[17] Cf. nets deposited in the temple of Pan. Zosim.—pisciculi offered for the souls of the living on the area Volcani at Rome, during the games of those fishermen whose produce was not brought into the macellum. Fest. lib. XIV. sub vocibus Piscatorii ludi. Ovid, Fast. II. 43.

[18] Vultus Achelous *agrestes*
Et lacerum cornu mediis caput abdidit undis.
Ovid, Met. IX. 96-7.

[19] Hecatæus apud Natalem Comitem, VII. 2.

[20] Hesiod, Theog. 340.

[21] Strabo, X. Stephan. Byzantin. voce, Ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Θόας ὁ ποταμός. Cf. Thucyd., who calls the river Θολερός.

[22] Ἀναθέουσι δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ θαλάσσιοι τῶν ἰχθύων, &c. μάλιστα δὲ ἀνὰ τὸ ῥεῦμα τὸ Ἀχελῴου νήχονται τοῦ ἐκδιδόντος κατὰ νήσους τὰς Ἐχινάδας. Pausan. Messeniac.

a considerable distance, and the manner in which it inundated the country near its mouth perhaps gave rise to the local tale of the Achelous being the son of Ocean. No form indeed could be more suitable to the myth, or to the difficulty of the victory, than the representation of the eldest son of Ocean assuming the shape of a dolphin, that of his marine brethren, in order, if unsuccessful, to plunge into his stream and regain the bosom of his father Ocean, or, enveloping the hero in the ample folds of his scaly form, bear him like Eros[23] on the dolphin, and immerse him in his own waters; whilst, according to the historical interpretation of Strabo, it would answer to the resistance offered by the returning sea at the mouth of the river to the dykes by which he bound him, as the bull or mountain-torrent roaring and foaming to the ocean, as the serpent winding his stream along the valleys, debouching its waters into the Ionian sea. The horn of the Achelous broken off during the contest was presented to Œneus, king of Calydon, the father of Dejanira, by the victor, and became the origin of the cornucopiæ,[24] a common type on the currency of Acarnania.[25] The Achelous subsequently became a poetical[26] term for water, probably from the veneration in which the river was held at Dodona, and from the injunction of the oracle to employ its waters in all sacred purposes,—an attempt to exalt their own river above every other in Greece.

[23] Clarac. Museé de Sculpt. Ant. Pl. 646, No. 1468. This beautiful little statue is in the Museo Borbonico at Naples.

[24] Ovid, Met. IX. 88.

[25] Eckhel, Vet. Num. Anec. Acarn.

[26] Cf. Servius ad Georgic. I. 9. Ἀχελῷος ποταμὸς Ἀρκαδίας καὶ πᾶν ὕδωρ οὕτως λέγεται. Ephorus in Macrob. lib. V.

The same subject of the monomachia of Hercules and the Achelous appeared on the bas-reliefs or statues of cedar-wood plated with gold in the treasury of the people of Megara at Elis,[27] and on the throne of Bathycles at Amyclæ.[28] Pausanias gives no details of the statues transferred to the Heraion, but they appear to have represented a monomachia[29] arranged for an aëtos or pediment, and, like many of these works of art, suggested from a contest of the stadion. In it Zeus might be supposed to represent the brabeutes, Dejanira the athlon or prize, Athenaia the paidotribos of Hercules, and Ares[30] performing the same office for the Achelous. The same river in alliance with other telluric gods appeared on the pentagonal altar at Oropus, and an altar was dedicated to him at Megara,[31] where water had rushed out of the earth. Above this part of the vase is *Φανφ . . . ἐποίει*, the name of the maker. The reverse offers a scene commonly found on the fictile vases. A Satyr, entirely naked, but crowned with ivy, plays on the double flute (*πλαγίαυλος*) before one of the female companions of the Dionysiac cortége. He accompanies the tune with the motion of the left leg, perhaps dancing. The Bacchanal has on her head a mitra, crowned with

[27] *Ζεὺς δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἡ Δηϊάνειρα καὶ Ἀχελῷος καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ἐστιν, Ἄρης τε τῷ Ἀχελώῳ βοηθῶν. Εἱστήκει δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίας ἄγαλμα ἅτε οὖσα τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ σύμμαχος.* Paus. Eliac. lib. VI. cap. xix. ed. Siebelis. Noticed by Mr. Millingen in his Dissertation.

[28] Paus. Lacon. lib. III. xviii. *Πεποίηται δὲ καὶ ἡ πρὸς Ἀχελῷον Ἡρακλέους πάλη.*

[29] Paus. Att. lib. I. Cf. Sophocles, Trach. *loc. cit.*, where Jupiter is called *Ζεὺς ἀγώνιος*. Paus. Lac. *loc. cit.*

[30] One tradition made the ancient name of the Achelous Thestius, from a son of Ares (Mars) and Pisidice. Plutarch. de Flum.

[31] Paus. Att. lib. I.

ivy, and is clad in ample drapery, over which is thrown the nebris. In her right hand she holds a branch of laurel or myrtle, and with her left shakes a pair of castanets (κρόταλα) to the time. Behind her is written a name, Oreithyia (Ὠρειθύια), either that of a Bacchanal having the same name as the daughter of Erechtheus, or the (καλὴ) fair lady to whom the vase may have been presented. The Satyr Comus is occasionally depicted playing on the double flute.

XIV.—ON AN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN SIGNET RING OF GOLD.

BY JOSEPH BONOMI, ESQ.

(Read March 25, 1841.)

I BEG to lay before the Royal Society of Literature an impression and drawing of an ancient Egyptian signet ring of gold, which was purchased in Cairo, A. D. 1825, by Lord Ashburnham. In the spring of the same year his lordship embarked a valuable collection on board a brig he had chartered in Alexandria to convey his heavy baggage to Smyrna, but which was attacked and pillaged by Greek pirates, who sold their booty in the island of Syra. The ring then became the property of a Greek merchant, in whose possession it remained till within these three years, when it was sold at Constantinople, and brought to this country about ten months ago. It has since passed through my hands to the former possessor.

The recent adventures of this curious piece of Egyptian art can be well authenticated; and although

the same kind of evidence cannot be brought to bear on its more remote history, yet we may conjecture from that evidence peculiar to Egyptian antiquities that it belonged to the age of Thothmes III.

There is another and still more conclusive evidence, *that of style*, which in this specimen appears so completely in accordance with the evidence of the name, that there can be no hesitation in attributing this ring to that period of Egyptian history.

In the winter of 1824 a discovery was made in Sakkara, of a tomb enclosing a mummy entirely cased in solid gold,[1] (each limb, each finger of which, had its particular envelope inscribed with hieroglyphics,) a scarabæus attached to a gold chain, a gold ring, and a pair of bracelets of gold, with other valuable relics.

This account was wrested from the excavators *à coups de bâton* administered by Mohammed Defterdar Bey; by which means were recovered to Sig^r. Drovetti, (at whose charge the excavation was made,) the scarabæus and gold chain, a fragment of the gold envelope, and the bracelets, now in the Leyden Museum, which bear the same name as this ring.

From the circumstance of the bracelets bearing the same name as this ring, and from the word Pthah, the name of the tutelar divinity of Memphis, (of which city Sakkara was the necropolis,) being also inscribed upon it, there is little doubt it was found in that place, and, from the confession of the Arabs, a great probability that it came out of the same excavation.

The discovery of so much gold in a single tomb, which, from the nature of the ornaments, must have

[1] A specimen of this kind of envelope (of silver) may be seen in the British Museum.

belonged to the Pharaoh himself or to a distinguished officer of his household, accords well with Mr. Cory's system of chronology, which places the death of the patriarch Joseph in the twenty-first year of the reign of Thothmes III., at which period the treasury of Pharaoh must have been well stored with the precious material of these ornaments, accumulated by the prudent administration of the patriarch. Assuming, therefore, that Mr. Cory's system is correct, this ring may be regarded not only as an excellent specimen of that kind called Tabát טבעת (a word still used in Egypt to signify a stamp or seal), but also as resembling in every respect, excepting the name, the ring which Pharaoh put on the hand of Joseph.

In Sir Gardner Wilkinson's work on the 'Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians,' is a representation of a ceremony, not unfrequently engraved in the sepulchres of Gourna and elsewhere, that irresistibly reminds us of what took place at the first interview the patriarch had with the Pharaoh, as recorded in Genesis xli. 42.[2] An excellent example of the same ceremony is among the casts lately presented to the British Museum by Robert Hay, Esq., taken from the small temple of Kalabsha (Beit El-wali). In all these representations, the minute accordance of the sculptures with the sacred text is so very remarkable, that there is reason to believe, what is recorded of Joseph took place also at the presentation of persons who were elected to fill important offices "in Pharaoh's household among the sons of Pharaoh,"[3]—a phrase no less in exact correspondence

[2] See Plate 80, second series.

[3] 1 Kings xi. 20.

with the hieroglyphical legends accompanying these representations.

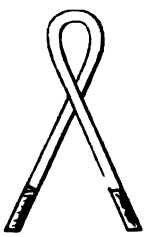
The vesture of fine linen being adjusted, the servants of Pharaoh are placing a necklace on the elected officer, which, in this example, from one of the tombs of Gourna, he seems to be fastening over that particular kind of ornament for the neck, which, in every instance, resembles the engraving, and seems to correspond perfectly with the idea conveyed by the word Revid רבד.[4]

No representation, however, has been found among the sculptures, of the king giving a ring to any of his subjects; and it may be gathered from the particular manner in which it is recorded that Pharaoh gave his own ring to the patriarch, that it was a mark of distinction no less unusual than was the extraordinary circumstance that gave rise to it; although at the same time there is every reason to believe, that the ratifying of a document by impressing the seal was no less the practice in the time of the Pharaohs than it is at this moment all over the East, and for that purpose this kind of ring is admirably designed.

It may be interesting to observe, that the ancient way of affixing the seal must have differed from the present mode, which is performed by blacking the surface of the stone or metal on which the characters are engraved, and transferring them by this means to the paper; for it will be evident that all the minute detail within the contour of the characters, would be entirely lost in the modern practice; and as papyri have been found with the seal impressed on a lump of

[4] רבד—a wreath chain or wreathen collar for the neck. Parkhurst's Hebrew and English Lexicon, edition 1823, page 567.

prepared clay fixed on the knot of the tape by which the volume was fastened, of which the hieroglyphic for Book seems to be a representation, besides numberless instances in painting and sculpture of bags sealed in like manner, it is reasonable to suppose that the seal was attached to the document in some such way, or that the papyrus may have been rendered capable of receiving an impression by some process like that which was used to impress hieroglyphics on the leather bands that are found on certain mummies, examples of which may be seen in the British Museum.



It is observed by Mr. Birch, that titles similar to those of the ring occur on the north side of the obelisk of St. John Lateran at Rome, and on the obelisk at Karnac.[5]

The obelisk referred to at Karnac is the representation sculptured in basso-relievo, on a wall behind the granite sanctuary of the great temple: it is among the offerings made to the temple by the king.

[5] See Burton's Excerpta Hieroglyphica, Plate XXIX.

XV.—ON THE SUPPOSED SITES OF THE ANCIENT CITIES OF BETHEL AND AI.

BY THE REV. ROBERT WOOLMER CORY, M.A.

(Read Feb. 13, 1840.)

THE position of these two celebrated cities of the Holy Land has often been mentioned by travellers, but as yet, I think, never satisfactorily established; owing, in some instances, to the few books of reference to which the traveller is necessarily restricted, and, in others, to that actual or supposed limitation of time, which induces him to investigate only what he considers the most interesting parts of the Holy Land, whilst he hurries over the sites of other cities without any mention of them, or, at the most, with some crude speculation upon their former name and importance. Such has been in an eminent degree the fate of the ancient renowned cities of Bethel and Ai, although lying nearly in the high road from Nablous to Jerusalem, and within a short distance only of the Holy City. Maundrell, who published the most accurate modern account of Palestine which we possess, even up to the present time, merely mentions Bethel in a cursory manner, as near a ruined village and monastery about one hour distant from Cinga. "In this very place or hereabouts," he says, "Jacob's Bethel is supposed to

have been;"[1] and he is followed by Dr. Clarke and many other learned travellers, whose short stay in Palestine prevented them from examining into the truth of this supposition.

From this supposed site of Bethel, we find by Maundrell's Journal that it took him five hours and fifty minutes to reach Jerusalem; or, according to the common rate of travelling, the distance would be seventeen miles and a half between the two cities.

Leaving these indefinite speculations, and turning to the Bible, we find that Bethel was a city of the tribe of Benjamin, and in the north-west part of their allotment. In Joshua xviii. 13-16, the north border of the tribe of Benjamin is described as ending in the wilderness of Bethaven: "and the border went over from thence toward Luz, to the side of Luz (which is Bethel), southward, . . . and to Kirjath-baal, which is Kirjath-jearim; this is the west quarter: and the south quarter was from the end of Kirjath-jearim, and the border went out on the west, . . . and descended to the valley of Hinnom, to the side of Jebusi on the south."

And Josephus says, "As to the Benjamites, their lot fell so that its length reached from Jordan to the sea, but in breadth it was bounded by Jerusalem and Bethel; and this lot was the narrowest of all."[2] The breadth of this lot at the east end was from the north side of Jericho to the "north bay of the salt sea at the south end of Jordan."—Joshua xviii. 12. 19.

Jericho was situated close beneath the mountain Quarantania (the grottoes in which hill I believe to have been the sepulchres of the former inhabitants before they were used by the hermits), and the dis-

[1] Maundrell's Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, March 25.

[2] Joseph. Antiq. lib. v. cap. 1, 22.

tance hence to the north bay of the salt sea is about two hours and twenty minutes, or seven miles, which appears to be the probable general breadth of the land of the tribe of Benjamin, including both Bethel and Jerusalem;—an opinion which is confirmed by Eusebius, who says that "Ramah lay six miles north of Jerusalem over-against Bethel."[3]

About this distance, then, from Jerusalem to the north, "in a rude stony country," which yielded Maundrell the sight of "several old ruined villages," we must look for the positions of the cities of Bethel and Ai, which have been so frequently passed by pilgrims journeying to Jerusalem as "insignificant ruins either of ancient buildings or modern villages; but had they been of more importance," Dr. Clarke continues,

[3] That Eusebius was right in supposing Ramah to be about this distance from Jerusalem, is confirmed in a remarkable manner in the 19th chapter of Judges. We find that the father of the Levite's concubine dwelt in Bethlehem-Judah, which is about four miles south of Jerusalem. "When the man rose to depart, his father-in-law, the damsel's father, said unto him, 'Behold, now the day draweth toward evening, I pray you tarry all night: behold, the day groweth to an end,'" ver. 9. Notwithstanding his entreaties, the man departed, "and when they were by Jebus, which is Jerusalem, the day was far spent." Although this was the case, the Levite would not turn into the city of the Jebusites, because it was the city of a stranger, but said to his servant, "Come, and let us draw near to one of these places to lodge all night, in Gibeah or in Ramah: and they went their way, and the sun went down upon them when they were by Gibeah, which belongeth to Benjamin," ver. 13, 14. Gibeah and Ramah could not, therefore, have been far distant from each other, nor very far from Jerusalem; for the day was far spent when they were by Jerusalem, and the sun went down upon them when they were by Gibeah. Gibeah was probably rather nearer than Ramah to Jerusalem; and the whole description agrees with the supposition that Ramah was not more than two hours, or six miles, distant from Jerusalem.

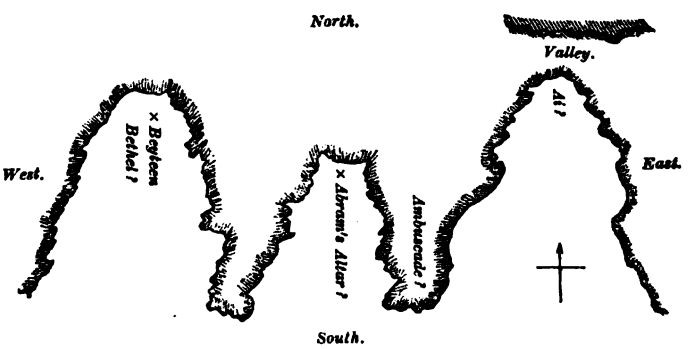
"they would have excited little notice at the time, so earnestly bent was every mind towards the main object of interest and curiosity."

Among these "old ruined villages," about seven miles north by east of Jerusalem, is that of Beyteen, containing the ruins of a Christian church, together with other fragments of masonry, and much broken pottery: it is situated on a hill. About three-quarters of a mile, or a mile, distant from it, and nearly due east, is another hill, on which the only tokens we discovered of its having ever been inhabited were the fragments of pottery, found on the sites of all ancient cities, and a piece of a cyclopean wall.

That these two hills are those on which Bethel and Ai once stood, is evident from their exact agreement with the Scripture account of the position of those cities.

They are in a mountainous part of the tribe of Benjamin, and consequently above the camp at Gilgal in the plain of Jericho. "The Lord said unto Joshua, Arise, and *go up* to Ai," chap. viii. 1.

In giving his commands to the men who were to be placed in ambuscade, Joshua said, "Behold, ye shall lie in wait against the city, even *behind* the city: go not *very far* from the city," ver. 4.



In obeying these his orders, we are told that part of the Israelites "went to lie in ambush, and abode *between Bethel and Ai*, on the west side of Ai," ver. 9; a position which does not appear, at first sight, favourable for an ambuscade, but which the nature of the ground between these cities shows to have been well adapted for the purposes of concealment: for, although Bethel and Ai stood on two hills west and east of each other, a third hill projects into part of the valley between them, forming two deep ravines; one between it and the south-east part of Bethel, and the other between it and the south-west part of Ai. It was in this latter ravine that the soldiers of Joshua were placed in ambuscade, out of sight both of Bethel and Ai, although *between them*, and *behind* the latter city with reference to the position of the Israelites, who came up from Gilgal on the east, and "drew nigh, and came before the city, and pitched on the north side of Ai: now there was a valley between them and Ai," ver. 11. And there is a broad and deep valley to the north of the hill, on which I suppose Ai was situated. Into this valley Joshua led his remaining troops, and from it made his retreat up the hill-side on the north. Having arrived at the summit of this hill, he was in such a position that his ambuscade could see him when he made the appointed signal for attack; and accordingly we find that when Joshua "stretched out the spear he had in his hand toward the city," that the "ambush arose quickly out of their place, and they ran as soon as he had stretched out his hand, and they entered into the city," ver. 18, 19.

The two cities also were close together; for in the pursuit after Joshua and the Israelites "there was not

a man left in Ai or Bethel that went not out after Israel," ver. 17.

The argument thus drawn from the strict agreement between the nature of the country and its description in the book of Joshua, is much strengthened by thus finding a hill jutting into the valley which separated Bethel from Ai; for it would have been almost impossible for a large body of men to lie concealed between the two cities, had there been no hill: but that such a hill existed between the cities is certain from Genesis xii., where it is said that Abram removed "unto a mountain on the east of Bethel, and pitched his tent, having Bethel on the west, and Hai on the east."

All the conditions required by the proposition, 'that the present Beyteen is the ancient Bethel, and that the hill to the east of it is that on which Ai stood,' thus appear to be fulfilled. Their distance from Jerusalem, and position with respect to it—their close neighbourhood—their relative situation—the valley to the north of Ai—the place of ambuscade—the mountain or hill between them—the stony nature of the soil,—all tally with the accounts of those places; and the present appearance of their sites confirms the supposition.

At Beyteen, beside the ruins of the church, there are many remains denoting the former existence of a city on the spot, and Bethel we know long continued one of the chief cities of the tribe of Benjamin. On the hill where Abram built his altar to the Lord, there are the remains of a church or mosque and other fragments, but at Ai we find nothing except a little pottery, and the remains of a cyclopean wall, of that rude and massive construction peculiar to the earliest ages. Nothing marks the spot as having been in-

habited by man since the most remote antiquity, but it has been "made an heap for ever, even a desolation unto this day."

R. WOOLMER CORY.

Burgh Castle, Feb. 5, 1840.

XVI.—ON THE POSITION OF SHILOH.

BY THE REV. R. WOOLMER CORY, M.A.

(Read June 18, 1840.)

In a former Paper upon the sites of Bethel and Ai, I endeavoured to prove that Bethel stood exactly where the village of Beyteen now stands, about seven miles north, or north by east, of Jerusalem: in the present Paper I shall assume this to be the true position of Bethel, and proceed to point out where the remains of Shiloh may be found, and their present appearance.

The passage in the last chapter of Judges, in which Shiloh is spoken of, fixes its site with tolerable accuracy: "Behold, there is a feast of the Lord in Shiloh yearly, in a place which is on the north side of Bethel, on the east side of the highway that goeth up from Bethel to Shechem, and on the south of Lebonah."

That Nablous is situated in the same valley in which Shechem formerly stood, between Ebal and Gerizim, has, I believe, never been disputed.

We have, therefore, the positions of Shechem and Bethel, the two extremities of the highway, both known; and the most direct course between these two places must have been very nearly the same as at present, viz., through Leban, leaving Cingel, or, as

Maundrell calls it, Cinga, slightly to the west, because Nablous is nearly due north of Beyteen, and so also are both Cingel and Leban.

In four hours after leaving Shechem, Maundrell arrived at "Khan Leban, having a village of the same name standing opposite to it on the other side of the vale;" and he adds, "one of these places, either the khan or village, is supposed to have been the Lebonah mentioned in Judges xxi. 19, to which both the name and situation seem to agree."

This supposition has been allowed to be true by all succeeding travellers, and we should therefore expect to find the remains of Shiloh on the east or right hand of one going from Beyteen to Leban.

About three-fourths of an hour east by north, or thereabouts, of Cingel, and in a southerly position, although not due south of it, we found the remains of an ancient city bearing the name of Seelōn: it stands upon a small hill in a valley which is encompassed by higher but not lofty hills, in whose bases are numerous ancient Jewish tombs cut horizontally into the hills, in the same manner as many are in the valley of Hinnom near Jerusalem. Some of these are open, others still closed, but we could discover no inscription upon or in any of them, their form being the only witness of their antiquity. Besides these tombs in the bases of the hills around, the site of the city itself is covered with a great quantity of broken pottery, and the fragments of ruined houses and other buildings.

On the swelling ground formerly occupied by the city, nothing remains standing; but on the edge of the valley leading towards the tribe of Benjamin, stands an old mosque or sheikh's tomb overshadowed by a large tree, the solitary memento of the gardens and

vineyards into which "the daughters of Shiloh came out to dance in dances," when they were caught and carried off by the men of Benjamin.

It may be worthy of remark, that a person travelling from Nablous to Jerusalem would, by passing through Seelōn, avoid "the craggy and difficult mountain," which he must otherwise climb immediately after quitting Khan Leban.

By its name, which is almost unchanged, by its position on the east side of the highway from Bethel to Shechem and on the south of Lebonah, and by its present appearance, which is that of a city ages since given to decay, we may distinctly recognise in Seelōn the ancient city Shiloh, "desolate and without an inhabitant," even as it was in the days of the prophet Jeremiah.

R. Woolmer Cory.

Burgh Castle, April 11, 1840.

XVII.—CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE EPISTLE OF HORACE TO TORQUATUS. (Lib. I. Ep. 5.)

BY GRANVILLE PENN, ESQ.

(Read Dec. 15, 1824.)

The state of the text of Horace's Epistle to Torquatus, is an evidence how much fruit critical research may yet be able to glean, in the field of learning; notwithstanding the diligent and persevering labour which has been employed during the last three centuries, in gathering in its harvest and collecting its scattered grains: although, perhaps, few corners of that field have reserved, in an equal area, so rich a handful for the gleaner, as this one little poem. Of this fact, I shall here offer the reader the examples.

1. The first of these, occurs in the very first line of the poem:

"Si potes *Archiacis* conviva recumbere *lectis*."

What are we here to understand by the phrase, "*Archiaci lecti?*' The meaning of this phrase, which is of primary consequence in the poet's intention, since he makes his sequel to depend upon it, stands as yet unexplained. On which account, the word *Archiacis* was at one time changed to *Archaïcis*, in order to extort an apprehensible meaning; and it was then

interpreted to signify, *old-fashioned couches*—"*des lits à l'antique, de vieux lits, des lits à la vieille mode,*" says Dacier. But, besides the poverty and inadequacy of the sense, which made the object of the poet to depend on Torquatus's ability *to eat his supper on an old-fashioned couch*, there existed the metrical objection, of the quantity of the word; and thence, that ingenuity became at once refuted. From that time, the genuine reading *Archiacis* has maintained its place; but, no adequate import has ever yet been assigned to it. It has therefore been evaded by a loose and gratuitous suggestion, that *Archias* was the name of the *upholsterer*[1] who made Horace's couches; which (it is assumed) were very *homely*,—"*des lits fort simples, plus petits et plus bas que ceux dont se servoient les personnes riches et de qualité,*" says Sanadon: and thus, the poet's object was made to depend on Torquatus's ability, '*to eat his supper on a couch constructed by that particular upholsterer.*' Yet this same upholsterer, *Archias*, is nowhere recorded to have existed; nor ever had other existence than that which has been engendered in the imagination, in order to cut the knot which it was thought impossible to untie.

But the reader, when he considers the *occasion* to which the phrase is applied by Horace, will not be a little surprised that any difficulty should have been experienced in discovering its *genuine import;* since that import is revealed, by the very nature of the occasion which called it forth. Horace, while enjoying the repose and leisure of his country retreat

[1] "*Faber,*" ant. Schol. et Delph.—"Archias étoit un *menuisier* ou *tourneur*, connu de *ce tems-la.*" Sanadon.

near Tibur, dispatches an invitation, early on the eve of a great festival, to a friend in the capital who was immersed in legal transactions; pressing him to come to him in the evening, and to sup and pass the night at his villa: he endeavours, by a gay and lively argument, to induce his friend to abstract himself from his plodding occupations, and, for a few hours, *to throw them all out of his thoughts:*

> 'Mitte leves spes, ——— et certamina divitiarum—
> Si potes *Archiacis* conviva recumbere *lectis*.'

This, is his argument. *Archiaci lecti*, is here a cognate form of phrase to *Attalicæ conditiones*, in the first ode: the latter, signifies *the fortune of Attalus;* the former, will signify *the couch of Archias.* But, what '*couch of Archias*' implied, *the throwing aside* '*present business, and enjoying á few hours of con-* '*viviality and festivity?*' for, this is the only point which is required to be satisfied: the answer is prompt and complete.

"One day, whilst 'ARCHIAS' the Polemarchon of Thebes was *carousing at table*, (relates Plutarch,) a letter-bearer was introduced, who delivered to him a letter, at the same time saying, that the person who sent it exhorted him to read it immediately, for that it contained matters of *serious business:* ARCHIAS, smiling, replied, '*Serious business to-morrow:*' and, taking the letter, *put it under the pillow of his couch.*" Plutarch adds, "that those words of ARCHIAS became thenceforward *proverbial* among the Greeks; and continued to be so even in his time."[2] Now, Horace,

[2] Μεθύοντι τῷ Ἀρχίᾳ προσαχθεὶς ὁ γραμματοφόρος, καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐπιδοὺς, ὁ ταύτην (ἔφη) πέμψας ἐκέλευσεν εὐθὺς ἀναγνῶναι, περὶ σπουδαίων γάρ τινων γέγραφθαι· καὶ ὁ Ἀρχίας μειδιάσας, οὔκουν, ΕΙΣ ΑΥΡΙΟΝ

who lived a century before Plutarch, had resided at Athens, and was, assuredly, well conversant with the history and the proverbs of that country:[3] when, therefore, he calls upon Torquatus *to throw aside his serious occupations for a day, and to take a part in a festive repast*, illustrating the invitation by "*lying on the couch of Archias*," the metaphor does not stand in need of any strained and artificial interpretation; it is manifest, that the '*Archias*' whom Horace had in his elegant and cultivated mind, was not the *upholsterer*, but the *Polemarchon;* and, that the poet's object depended on Torquatus's ability *to postpone business for a day, like the Polemarchon on his couch.*

2. Our next example occurs in the sixth line:

"Sin melius quid habes, arcesse, vel *imperium fer*."

What is to be understood by *imperium fer*, in this place? This phrase has undergone as many vicissitudes as the *Archiaci lecti*, and with a similar result. A recondite sense, utterly inconsistent with the plain and familiar style of the epistle, has been supposed latent in it; in attempting to effodiate which, the phrase has been made to endure the most contradictory significations, all of which, when compared with the preceding context, make nonsense of the

(ἔφη) ΤΑ ΣΠΟΥΔΑΙΑ· *καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δεξάμενος, ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον ὑπέθηκεν.* ——— *ὁ μὲν οὖν λόγος οὗτος, ἐν* ΠΑΡΟΙΜΙΑΣ *τάξει περιφερόμενος, μεχρὶ νῦν διασώζεται παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι.* Plutarch, *Vit. Pelopidæ*, p. 283, fol. Ed. Reiske, vol. ii. p. 346.

[3] Horace had evidently the same proverb in his thoughts when, in his invitation to Mæcenas (Od. 8, lib. III.), he wrote—

Dona *præsentis* cape lætus horæ, ac
Linque severa.

Severa,—seria, σπουδαῖα.

whole.[4] Let us, therefore, trace the direct thread of the poet's thought, l. 1, 2, 4, 6:

> " (*Si non*) modica cœnare times *olus omne* patella,
> Supremo te sole domi ———— manebo:
> *Vina* bibes, &c.
> *Sin melius quid habes, arcesse,* vel ——— *fer.*"

" *Arcesse*, vel *fer*," are the alternatives which Horace familiarly offers to Torquatus: *arcesse* signifies, as Gesner expounds it in his Thesaurus, *jube afferri*, and therefore simply, *mitte*. Horace says, 'If you have[5] (*melius quid*) *any thing better* than I here state, (vel *mitte*, vel *fer*,) either *send it* or *bring it*.' What, then, is to fill up the *hiatus* that we have been constrained to leave; and which is vulgarly filled by

[4] Dacier says, " On a fort mal expliqué ce vers: 'Si vous avez de *meilleur vin*, faites-le porter, ou *contentez vous du mien*.' Cela est *ridicule*, et ne peut jamais s'asjuster avec les mots, 'arcesse *et* imperium fer.' Horace dit à Torquatus: 'Si vous avez *quelque chose de meilleur* à me donner, priez-moi à souper chez vous, et *soyéz le roi du festin;* sinon, venez chez moi, et *souffrez que je sois le Maître*.' *Imperium fer*, c'est-à-dire, '*Sine me regem esse cœnæ*.'" Sanadon says, " C'est-à-dire, 'Si vous avez de *meilleur vin* que moi, faites en apporter quelques bouteilles avec vous; sinon, *passez-en par la condition que je vous propose*.' M. Dacier trouve ce sentiment *ridicule*. S'il est nécessaire de trouver du ridicule dans une de ces explications, on me permetra de ne point décider." The Delphin Interpreter understands, " Quod si habes *aliquid melius*, affer; vel *jussa exequere;*" and adds in a note, " Quidam interpretantur, '*Tu me fac regem convivii:*' quod mihi quidem *absurdum* videtur." The later commentators, have left the knot as they found it; and the present reading is destitute of any sense, that sound interpretation can acknowledge to have been the intention of the writer.

[5] Dacier, Sanadon, and all the interpreters, understand *habes* in the ordinary sense of *have;* but it seems more probably to signify here, *hold, think, esteem:* " If you *hold any thing to be better, i. e.* if you *prefer any thing else*—sin *melius habes quid:*"—" *habere pro cibo*," Plautus, Merc. iv. 4.

the *imperium*, which confounds and stultifies the simple import of the sentence? To resolve this question, we have no other resource than to trace back the *elements* of this word to the writing of the *early ages;* and to examine, whether the vulgar reading *imperium* may not have resulted from the elements of a primitive word congenial with the sentence, but which early became corrupted by that fruitful source of vitiated readings—the negligence or ignorant interference of scribes, in the transcription of texts. The words *imperium fer*, in the ancient abbreviated and connected form of writing, would have stood *ĪPERFER*——. It is well known, that many false readings in different ancient authors have resulted entirely from unskilful elongations of similar *compends* or abbreviations. Semler, in his note 33 on Wetstein's Prolegomena to the New Testament, observes, "Sunt non paucæ varietates ita comparatæ, ut a *scribendi compendiis* longe melius ortæ credantur."[6] The above association of elements, which would appear to resolve themselves into '*imperium fer*,'—if the *elements*, and not the *sense*, were made the rule of the solution,—would, if the *sense* were made the rule, equally resolve them-

[6] The observations of Canterus, in the sixteenth century, 'De conjunctione vocum et disjunctione,' and 'De abbreviationibus,' in his 'De Ratione Emend. Græc. Auct. Syntagma,' are also applicable to the ancient Latin MSS.—"Quo factum post est, ut, qui satis periti non erant, alia vocabula *non recte jungerent*, aut *male disjungerent*."—"Cavendum diligenter est, *ne altera* (abbreviatio) *pro altera, propter similitudinem substituta, incautos fallat*." Suetonius, who lived at the end of the first century, testifies, of the Latin manuscripts of his time, "Non literas modo, sed syllabas, aut permutare, aut præterire, *communis hominum error est*."—D. Octav. Augusti Vita, lib. ii. c. 28.

selves into '*in pera fer.*' '*Pera*' expresses the same object as '*mantica*' in Sat. I. 6, 106:

> "Ire licet mulo,———
> *Mantica* cui lumbos onere ulceret, atque eques armos:"

which word the ancient Scholiast thus explains,—"mantica; *pera*, vel *averta* est." "*Peram* viatoriam (says Gesner, in *Thes.*) vocamus qua *panem et aliquid opsonii gestare viatores solent.*" Here, then, we deduce from the same abbreviated form which could yield *imperium*, a different word perfectly qualified to fill the *hiatus* we have left, and bearing a most pertinent relation to *fer*, which follows. The poet playfully says, "I shall give you a supper of *vegetables*, &c.; but, if you *like any thing better*, either *send it by the bearer*, or *bring it with you in your wallet.*"

Now, let us consider what may be critically urged in opposition to this emendation.

It may perhaps be said, that Horace has nowhere used the word *pera:* but he has only *once* used the word *mantica.* His poems contain other ἅπαξ λεγόμενα; and, under the statement which has been here made, we are strongly supported in regarding '*im-*' *perium,*' as a corruption of '*in pera,*' in this place. It is a word which was in the most common and familiar use, first in Greece, and afterwards in Rome, from the time of Homer to that of Apuleius. Phædrus, the contemporary of Horace, employs it, as also does Martial. Hence, no sound objection can lie against Horace having *once* employed it in this case, as he has *once* employed *mantica* in a corresponding case; and each according as the quantity of the word suited his metre, both terms being equally applicable to the same thing.

Another, and a more plausible objection, may perhaps be drawn, from Horace not having employed a *spondiazon* verse on any other occasion. But this would be a very false rule for excluding it, as of necessity, in an emendation. The use of it is, indeed, always rare, because it was regarded as *durum*, 'harsh;' but that objection is of less weight in Horace's *pedestrian hexameters*, than it would be in those of any other poet. But, there is one circumstance very remarkable in the case before us; which is calculated to over-rule altogether the objection I am here supposing, and to add an *internal evidence* of the genuineness of the emendation proposed.

It is observed by Beda (*de Metris*, p. 2375, *Gramm. Lat. Antiq.*) that a spondee in the fifth foot is very rarely employed, *except where the spondee contains the letter* r. "Hoc rarissime inveniatur, nisi ita ordinatur, ut spondæus, qui in quinta regione est, *r* literam habeat, alteri consonanti vel præpositam vel subjectam; cujus duritia per *adjectam vocalem* levigata, *dactylus reddatur in sono, cum pateat spondæus in scripto.*" And he instances these terminations:

> "——— continuo statuunt ter dena argenti—
> Et spatii cœpere, et culminis incrementum—
> Sic prope, sic longe, sic culmina respergebat—
> Dixerat, et læta libidinis interfectæ—
> Palpitat, atque aditu spiraminis intercepto."

He affirms, that the sound of the *r* in these, and in all similar cases, produces a *dactylic utterance*, which softens the harshness and abruptness of the spondee; and that the above terminations become, in enunciation, "intericepto, inceremento, interefectæ, resperigebat," and, by synalœpha, "den' arigenti." (Ibid. p. 2372, 3.)

It is exactly on this principle that Horace himself has constructed the first *dactylic tetrameter* of his Ode 28, lib. I.

"Mensorem cohibent, Arichyta."

That the line ought to be so *enounced*, is made evident by this metrical rule of Beda, and by the uniformity of all the endings of the tetrameters in this Ode, and in the preceding Ode 7; so that there is absolutely no ground whatever for assuming, that the third foot in the line was enounced as a spondee.

Now, the termination "arcesse, vel *in pera fer*," manifestly falls under the spirit of Beda's rule; for, the first syllable of πήρα, *pēra*, thus found here in the fifth foot, contains the letter *r*, which, by the same organic principle, would cause the resolution of the long *ē*, and produce the enunciation '*peëra*,'—"in '*peëra* fer';" the abruptness of the spondee being thus softened by the introduction of the second vocal sound before the *r*, as in "inceremento;" so as to "*become a dactyl in pronunciation, whilst it appears a spondee in writing.*" It is certainly very remarkable, that the *r* required in this rule preserved by Beda, should be actually found in this *apparent spondee*, which alone restores a simple and natural sense to the line of Horace; and these extraordinary concurring evidences establish a critical proof that Horace wrote

"Sin melius quid habes, arcesse, vel *in pera fer.*"

3. Our third example, does not yield in interest to either of the preceding. The poet assigns in the 9th, 10th, and 11th lines, his *reason* for inviting Torquatus on that particular evening:

"——— Cras, *nato Cæsare, festus*
Dat veniam somnumque *dies:* impune licebit
Æstivam sermone benigno tendere *noctem.*"

This passage has been deemed interesting, as pointing out the *precise day of the year* on which the poem was written; and accordingly, it has been proposed to the junior students in a college examination of one of our Universities,—"from these lines to determine the *day of the year* on which this epistle was written." There can be no difficulty in determining that day, provided we are first quite secure of the day designed by *Cras nato Cæsare;* but great difficulties have been experienced in endeavouring to fix this latter point. Masson maintained that it was the birth-day of *Augustus Cæsar*, which was the 23rd day of September. Dacier affirmed that it was the birth-day of *Julius Cæsar*, which fell on the 12th of July. Here, then, is a previous point to be *thoroughly determined* before we can determine *the day* when the epistle was written. Dacier confidently opposed to Masson the words *æstivam noctem*, as inapplicable to the 23rd of September; but, perfectly applicable to the 12th of July. Masson resisted this argument, by adducing the phrase *mollior æstas* from Virgil, as signifying the *autumn;* but I have elsewhere shown, that the reading *mollior æstas* is evidently a corruption of *mollior æstus*,[7] which

[7] Observ. in Illustr. of Virgil's *Fourth Eclogue*, p. 260, note. That note I shall here repeat:

> "Quid tempestates *Autumni*, et sidera dicam?
> Atque ubi jam breviorque dies, et mollior *æstas?*"
>
> (Georg. I. 310.)

"It has been generally supposed, that by *mollior æstas* Virgil intended to express autumn *by a figure;* but, since in the line immediately preceding he has expressed autumn *without any figure*, it is exceedingly improbable that he should have described it immediately after under a figure. The passage is thus explained by Heyne, 'leniore *calore*, cum vehementior *æstus* jam remisit se.' This interpretation alone is sufficient to warn us, that Virgil wrote

last phrase is more reasonably applicable to the autumn; so that Masson's ground of defence cannot sustain him. The generality of writers and annotators have at length closed with Dacier's interpretation; and *Cras nato Cæsare* appears now to be regarded as finally determined to Julius Cæsar, by the words *æstivam noctem.* But, in so concluding, Dacier reversed the order of the critical evidence; for *Cras nato Cæsare* must determine the reading *æstivam noctem*, and not *æstivam noctem* the *Cras nato Cæsare:* the latter phrase must be determined by its own *internal evidence*, before the former can acquire any authority in the argument. The phrase *nato Cæsare*, put thus absolutely, naturally suggests, in the first instance, the birth-day of the *living* or *reigning Cæsar*, as *the king's birth-day* would denote that of the living sovereign, even if it were the custom to commemorate the birth-day of the deceased monarch; and indeed, it might be shown on critical ground, that the words are only applicable to a person *actually in*

'mollior *æstus;*' especially, since we learn from Macrobius, that literal errors early made their way into the copies of Virgil. In support of this observation I shall adduce a similar error, which has crept into Germanicus's version of Aratus's description of the constellation Leo. The text of Germanicus (l. 150) stands thus:

'——————— tum geminabitur *æstas.*'

The original words of Aratus are,

—— ἡελίοιο ΘΕΡΕΙΤΑΤΑΙ εἰσὶ κέλευθοι,

which the modern literal translator correctly renders,

'solis *ardentissimi* sunt cursus.'

Here no one can doubt, that Germanicus wrote 'geminabitur *æstus;*' and we may therefore reasonably believe, that Virgil wrote 'mollior *æstus.*'"

This passage has been deemed interesting, as pointing out the *precise day of the year* on which the poem was written; and accordingly, it has been proposed to the junior students in a college examination of one of our Universities,—"from these lines to determine the *day of the year* on which this epistle was written." There can be no difficulty in determining that day, provided we are first quite secure of the day designed by *Cras ante Cæsare*; but great difficulties have been experienced in endeavouring to fix this latter point. Masson maintained that it was the birth-day of *Augustus Cæsar*, which was the 23rd day of September. Dacier affirmed that it was the birth-day of *Julius Cæsar*, which fell on the 12th of July. Here, then, is a previous point to be *thoroughly determined* before we can determine *the day* when the epistle was written. Dacier confidently opposed to Masson the words *æstivam noctem*, as inapplicable to the 23rd of September; but, perfectly applicable to the 12th of July. Masson resisted this argument, by adducing the phrase *mollior æstas* from Virgil, as signifying the *autumn*; but I have elsewhere shown, that the reading *mollior æstas* is evidently a corruption of *mollior æstus*,[7] which

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'——————— tum geminabitur *æstas*.'

The original words of Aratus are,

[illegible] ΘΕΡΕΙΤΑΙ [illegible] κέλευθοι,

which the m[illegible] [illegible]nslate[illegible] [illegible]enders,

[illegible] *lenti*[illegible] [illegible]us.'

[illegible]at G[illegible] [illegible] 'geminabitur *æstus*;'

[illegible] [illegible] Virgil wrote 'mollior

life. The true construction is, "cras festus dies, nato Cæsare," i. e. "*for Cæsar being born*," and therefore *living*. But we can show this to be the true interpretation, by a still closer evidence. Horace has never introduced the name *Cæsar* with relation to Julius, without annexing some particularity to *determine the reference to him*. Of the twenty-eight times that he has introduced that name into his Odes, Satires, and Epistles, in only *two* instances it signifies *Julius Cæsar*.[8] In the one case, addressing Augustus by the name of *Cæsar* absolutely, he calls him *Cæsaris ultor*. In the other he speaks of *Cæsaris horti*, *Cæsar's Gardens*, a local denomination, popularly established in Rome to express the gardens which Julius Cæsar had given up to the Roman people; as the name of the *Regent's Park*, will still continue under any future regent. These are the *only* occasions in which Horace applies the name of *Cæsar* to Julius; on *all other occasions* it invariably intends *Augustus*: and, from this constant and unvarying practice of the poet, we are necessarily bound to understand the *Cras nato Cæsare*, in this epistle, of the birth-day of *Augustus*.

What, then, are we to understand of the *æstivam noctem* which Torquatus was to pass with Horace on the 22nd and 23rd of September?

That, *æstivam* has been supposed to manifest a necessary relation to the word *tendere*, which follows in the same line. It has been alleged, that these two words have a *reciprocal hold* of each other; that *tendere* signifies to *stretch*, *pull out*, or *lengthen*; "*æstivam* noctem," a summer or *short* night; "which

[8] Od. I. 2, 44, and Sat. I. 9, 18.

night," says Dacier, "*would very soon end, if conversation did not prolong it*—et qui *finiroit bien-tôt, si la conversation ne la prolongeoit.*" How conversation works this miraculous effect on the natural limit of the night, M. Dacier has not informed us; but it will not be difficult, to make every Latin scholar sensible of the weakness and fallacy of this interpretation. It would be superfluous to accumulate proofs to show, that *tendere noctem, trahere noctem, producere noctem,* are terms applicable to every night of the year, without any relation to a longer or a shorter measure, and that they simply signify, to *spend* or *pass the night;* so that *æstivam* contributes nothing whatever as necessary to render complete the sense of the words,—

"——— sermone benigno tendere noctem." [9]

Since, then, *Cras nato Cæsare* determines the time to the 22nd of September; since *tendere noctem* expresses all its own sense, without any aid from *æstivam;* and since *æstivam* cannot *consist* with this determination of the day,—why does *that word* appear in the line?

Let us examine this point by the same rule to which we resorted in the case of *imperium fer;* and let us again have recourse to the *earlier* figuration of letters in writing. In the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique,* tom. ii. p. 333, we have a table of the progressive changes of the writing of the Roman characters.[10]

[9] "——— noctem producere vino."
Martial. lib. II. Epist. 89.
"——— vario noctem sermone trahebat."
Æn. I. 748.

[10] "La planche XXI. réunit toutes les sortes de lettres majuscules des MSS., depuis les premiers siècles jusqu' aux derniers tems." Ib.

We there find, that at an early period the *A* was drawn with a flat and broad head, *Æ*, *Æ*, *Æ*, and, united with the *E*, it would have formed its diphthong, *Æ*; and, consequently, with the same figure that would have resulted from the junction of the *F* (*F*) with the *E*—*Æ*. Hence, a confusion of the two compound characters was a casualty likely to occur; the word *ÆSTIVUS* might equally resolve itself into *æstivus* and *festivus;* and the copyists being more mechanical than critical, the reading *æstivam* would thus have easily obtruded itself into the proper place of *festivam.* But '*festivam*' is so far from *not consisting* with the context, that it is claimed by '*festus*,' and the words which immediately follow, '*sermone benigno.*' Donatus, in distinguishing the *festivitatem* et *facilitatem* of Terence (*Eunuch.* act. v. sc. 8, 18), says pointedly, "*festivitas in dictis*, facilitas vero in animo et factis." Here, then, we recover the genuine line of Horace,

"*Festivam sermone benigno* tendere *noctem.*"

4. We may find a fourth example in the statement of the invitation in the seventh line:

"Jamdudum *splendet focus*, et tibi *munda supellex.*"

Under the persuasion that the time of the invitation was determined absolutely by the presence of *æstivam* in the text, the *splendet focus* was interpreted to express the neatness and spruceness of the dwelling: "it signifies properly," says Dacier, "My house has been a long time *shining with spruceness.*" But, since the epistle vindicates its date to the 22nd of September, we shall find another meaning for those words than a mere tautology of the words which follow—"et tibi *munda supellex.*" The situation of Horace's villa in the Sabine mountains above Tibur, rendered it cool in the

summer season, and cold both late in the spring and early in the autumn. Eustace states, that in the middle of May (when the sun is usually scorching in the plains of Italy) he found the weather very *chilly* at the site of Horace's villa. At the close of September, which season Horace always passed at that favourite residence, the same *chill* would have been frequently experienced by Horace in the same situation, from the periodical return of the *Corus* or north-west wind; which, we are informed by Columella and Pliny, usually set in *at the season of the autumnal equinox.*

Sep. 21. " XIV. Cal. Oct. Favonius, aut *Corus.*
,, 22. XIII. Cal. Oct. Sol *in Libram* transitum facit.
,, 24. XI. Cal. Oct. Favonius, aut *Corus.*" [11]
(Æquin. Autumni.)

Pliny affirms this wind to be, " *ex frigidissimis;*" and adds, " *hic et grandines infert; cavendus et ipse non secus ac Septentrio.*" [12] Virgil says, " *semper spirantes frigora Cauri.*" Horace calls his Sabine neighbourhood, " *rugosus frigore pagus;*" and speaks of his own sensibility to cold. From all which considerations combined, we are authorized to infer, that, in the words *splendet focus*, he apprised his guest coming *late* from the city to a *colder temperature*,[13] that he

[11] Columella, lib. xi. cap. 2. It is observable that he has omitted the XII. Cal. Oct. or the 23rd of Sept., the birth-day of Augustus.

[12] Lib. xviii. cap. 77. He had said, lib. ii. cap. 47, " Sidus Arcturi exoritur undecim diebus ante equinoctium autumni. Cum hoc, Corus incipit. Corus *autumnat.*"

[13] That difference of temperature (always experienced on ascending from a plain into a mountain country) occasioned the salubrity of Lucretilis, which made Horace say:

" Ergo ubi me in *montes* et in *arcem* ex urbe removi—
Nec mala me ambitio perdit, nec *plumbeus Auster,*
Autumnusve gravis. (Sat. II. 6, 16.)

would find a *cheerful fire* to receive him. Thus Seneca,

> " dignus adventu tuo
> *Splendescat ignis:* " [14]

and again,

> " largo sacer
> *Splendescat ignis* thure." [15]

And Tibullus,

> " Dum meus assiduo *luceat igne focus.*" [16]

The *nato Cæsare*, *cras festus*, and *splendet focus*, unite, therefore, to expel *æstivam* as an obtruder on the primitive text; a judgment, which is confirmed by the legitimate and superior pretensions of *festivam*. And, as the *supremus sol*, on the eve of Augustus's birthday, is still visible at six o'clock in the evening, when it begins to sink below the horizon; we ascertain, that the invitation was sent to Torquatus *very early in the morning* of the 23rd of September, in some unknown year: and that Horace hoped to receive him at his villa about six o'clock, *the same evening*. Thus explained and restored, the first eleven lines of the epistle will be thus read:

> " Si potes *Archiacis* conviva recumbere *lectis*,
> Nec modica cœnare times olus omne patella,
> Supremo te sole domi, Torquate, manebo:
> Vina bibes iterum Tauro diffusa, palustres
> Inter Minturnas, Sinuessanumque Petrinum.
> Sin *melius quid habes*, arcesse vel *in pera fer*.
> Jamdudum *splendet focus*, et tibi munda supellex.
> Mitte leves spes, et certamina divitiarum,

> " Hæ latebræ dulces, etiam (si credis) amœnæ,
> *Incolumem* tibi me præstant *Septembribus horis*."
>
> Ep. I. 16, 15.

[14] Thyestes, act. i. l. 55.

[15] Hercules Æt. act. iii. l. 791.

[16] I. 1, 16.

Et Moschi causam. Cras, *nato Cæsare, Festus*
Dat veniam somnumque *Dies*: impune licebit
Festivam sermone benigno tendere *Noctem*."

Horace was used to lie late in the morning, '*ad quartam*' *jaceo*;[17] and we may presume, that he retired proportionately late to rest. Whatever was transacted after midnight, was ascribed by the Romans to the following day.[18] A *tabellarius* or *letter-bearer*, dispatched soon after midnight, would have reached Rome sufficiently early to enable Torquatus, if he was so disposed, to comply with this sudden invitation, and to select and collect the friends who should accompany him; and, Horace gives him till sun-set for his journey. The distance of Lucretilis from Rome, therefore, (about thirty miles,) opposes no solid objection to the epistle having been sent from thence.

[17] Sat. I. 6, 122.

[18] "Si quid post mediam noctem, et ante lucem factum est, eo die gestum dicitur, qui eam sequitur noctem." CENSORINUS, *de die Natali*, p. 124.

XVIII.—ON SOME FRAGMENTS FROM THE RUINS OF A TEMPLE AT EL TELL.

BY J. S. PERRING, ESQ.

(Read March 11, 1841.)

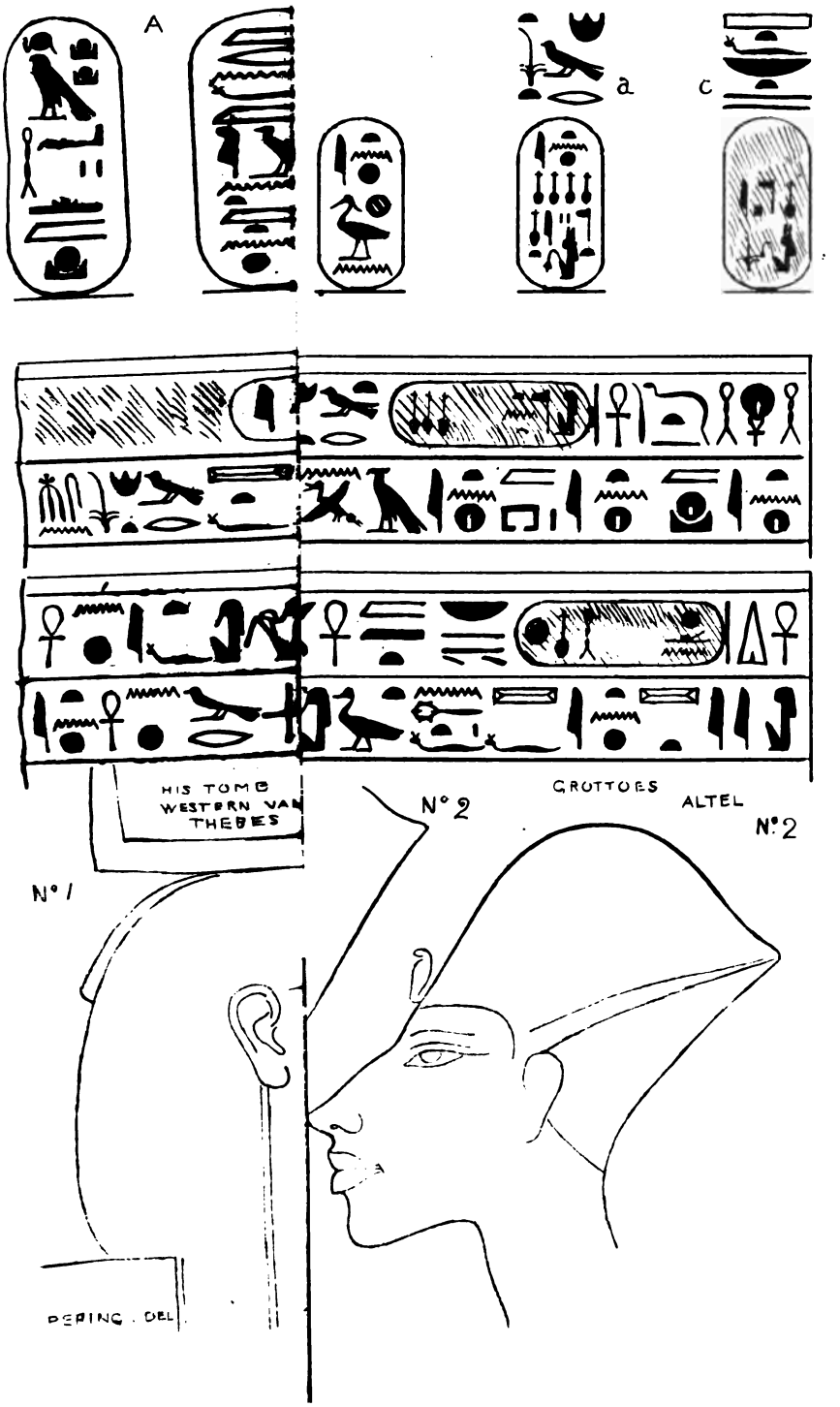
WHEN at Thebes, in December last, my attention was drawn by M. Prisse to some sculptures on the stones used for the construction of two of the Propyla of the great temple of Karnac, partly destroyed by the officers of the Pacha of Egypt for the sake of the materials.

The features of the principal figures represented on these fragments were not Egyptian; the form of worship indicated was also different, being in every instance that of the sun emitting rays terminating in human hands; and it was evident from the freshness of the sculptures, that they had been taken from buildings destroyed soon after erection.

Near the sun were always placed the two large cartouches (A), which also occurred in some instances near a monarch; but, it appeared to me, only when occupied or represented as high priest of the sun, to which the titles contained in these cartouches may be properly considered to belong.

The other names which occurred were Nos. 2 and 3, the latter accompanied in some instances by that of the wife of the monarch, No. 3 *c*.

7
8
10
11


A
a
c
HIS TOMB
WESTERN VAN
THEBES
N° 2
GROTTOES
ALTEL
N° 2
N° 1
PERING . DEL

C
D
5
A
B
B

No. 1 is the name of a king whose tomb is in the western valley, and whose titles, as contained in his prænomen, and other circumstances which I will mention, seem to identify him with this dynasty.

I afterwards examined the grottoes of Gebel Toonh, and those near El Tell, and append the following remarks on the latter from my journal.

" Feb. 20, 1840.—Visited the ruined city supposed by Wilkinson to be the site of Alabastron, but neither the latitude nor situation agree with this place. Alabastron was an Egyptian city of some standing, whereas, from the small quantity of rubbish and the absence of the usual mounds on this site, I am inclined to believe that this city, whatever may have been its name, was destroyed soon after its erection; and from the fragments of statues and stones bearing the same cartouches as the monarchs, the remains of whose buildings are found in the Propyla at Karnac, it would seem to have been built by them, and afterwards destroyed as an act of vengeance, and deserted.

" This may have been the head-quarters of that race; and if there was only one capital for all Egypt, no other place is so advantageously situated as this neighbourhood. To the same local advantages Hermopolis and Antinoe at a later period owed their importance.

" The grottoes here and at Gebel Toonh are particularly interesting, and there is a marked difference between them and any other sculptures in Egypt.

" It is evident that they are the work of Egyptian artists; and the scenes are still in Egypt, but in every other respect how different!—the features and figures of the principal persons, the dress and manners, and above all the form of worship, show some extraordinary revolution.

"1st. The features do not at all resemble the Egyptian, and, though much defaced, are evidently the same as those found in the Propyla at Karnac; where we may recognise a similarity with the tall, white, slender, blue-eyed, and red-haired race, painted on the soles of the Egyptian sandals, and appearing also on the monuments, where they are emphatically called the "wicked race of Scheto."

"Though particularly distinguished by their long slender form, they have all a projecting abdomen, which may have arisen from the mode of tying on their dress, but which, in some instances, is carried to such an extent as to render it possible that the Egyptian artists may have indulged in a little sly caricature.

"The principal figures consist of a king, who bears the cartouch No. 3, his wife (cartouch *c*), in some instances three, and in others two children, the eldest of whom bears the name (*d*) in the most eastern grotto of El Tell.

"These are accompanied by many attendants, two of whom are dwarfs and club-footed, and are evidences that these scenes are faithful representations of events.

"The names and features of the principal persons are defaced, with an evident intention of obliterating every memento of the race; and it is only by examination of several cartouches and representations, that they can be restored.

"2nd. The dress of all ranks is such as would incline us to believe that this subject was a matter of regulation: the principal difference from the Egyptian costume consists in wearing a full petticoat, somewhat similar to the *fustann* worn at present by the Albanians; and the great peculiarity is, that it is worn by all. This

dress, however, is once represented at Thebes, and again on a tablet at Aboo Simbel, but in both these cases they are soldiers who wear it.

"3rd. Manners: all are crouching and paying obeisance, the servility and generality of which gestures could only be exacted from a conquered people.

"4th. A principal difference consists in the form of worship which meets the eye on every side. None of the forms of the Egyptian deities are seen or alluded to in the hieroglyphics; the worship is that of the sun, whose rays terminate in human hands, one of which gives the emblem of life (☥) to the king.

"There are processions, headed by the king, going to the great temple of the sun: in some instances he again appears officiating as high priest to that deity, accompanied by his wife, whilst crowds of worshippers pay their adoration at a greater distance.

"It would thus appear, that the established religion of the country had been changed, and temples erected to the deity of the conqueror,—but where are they? Destroyed soon after their erection. The head, and other fragments of statues, discovered by me to-day, were within the precincts of the great temple of this city, and the stones found in the Propyla of Karnac probably came from temples erected at Thebes.

"The style of architecture in these grottoes, and the capital of a column built in the second Propylon at Karnac, seem to hold an intermediate place between the grottoes of Beni Hassan and that of Ferayg; that is, between the sixteenth and eighteenth dynasties.

"The hieroglyphics are well and firmly sculptured, and not unlike those of the early part of the eighteenth dynasty; indeed, some of the stones taken from the

Propyla at Karnac are equal to the best period of the great Ramesses."

It is quite certain that the temples of this race have been destroyed and their names obliterated by the kings of the eighteenth dynasty,—a dynasty of which Champollion thus speaks: "Ses premiers princes chassèrent de la basse Egypte, et d'une portion de l'Egypte moyenne, des hordes des étrangers connus sous le nom de Pasteurs, et que les Egyptiens appellaient ϩⲩⲕⲥⲱⲥ Hykschos." From these facts I think it fair to conclude, that these are some of the remains of the shepherd kings, who held Egypt in the period immediately preceding the eighteenth dynasty.

The names of these intrusive monarchs are said by Manetho to have been as follows; and it is remarkable that the cartouches I have given somewhat resemble the first three.

1. Saites or Salatis.
2. Bêôn, Buôn, Auon, or Byon.
3. Pachnan or Apachnas.
4. Staan.
5. Arcles or Archles.
6. Apophis or Aphobis.

With regard to the first of these, whom I suppose to be the king whose name is contained in No. 1, the features, the protuberant abdomen, the defacement of his name and features in his tomb, and the destruction of his edifices by the kings of the 18th dynasty, appear to identify him with the same intrusive race; and from the similarity of his phonetic name with the first shepherd monarch, I have ventured to place him, but without other authority.

His tomb is, as I have before mentioned, in the western valley at Thebes, and is in many respects unlike

the other tombs of the kings, and more especially from not containing the usual mythological emblems and mysterious progress of the soul; but it does not, however, show him to have been a worshipper of the Sun.

At a speos at Gebel Solinon I found him worshipping the gods of Chemmis, but this may have been done to conciliate his new subjects; the disregard of which policy by his successors, who appear to have attempted to force their own worship upon the people, may have led to their ejectment.

On one of the stones of the great hall of Karnac, built by Osirei I., is the name of this monarch: this is mentioned by Champollion, who, I believe, suggests the probability of its belonging to one of the Shepherds.

The portrait I sketched from his tomb, thinking the countenance peculiar, as I had not at that time seen the sculptures taken from the Propyla at Karnac: the likeness between them is remarkable. On the sketch I made is a remark, that he is represented of a much lighter red than usual with the Egyptians.

No. 2 is met with at Gebel Toonh, and on some of the stones of the Propyla at Karnac, and is evidently to be placed before No. 3, as the latter cartouch is sculptured over the former. This portrait is traced from a stone rather rudely engraved, taken from the second Propylon of Karnac, and now in the possession of Mr. Harris, of Alexandria. I am enabled, also, to lay before you a paper impression from it, which may serve to confirm the correctness of the sketch.

The portraits of No. 3 are numerous, and the alabaster head corroborates, I trust, the likenesses given from Karnac and the grottoes of El Tell, though the

latter, being sketched by me hastily, is somewhat of a caricature.

If these can be considered the representations of the shepherd kings of Egypt, a great step will be gained towards clearing up their history.

These sovereigns evidently held the whole of Egypt, though this fact, stated by Manetho, has been strangely doubted by modern writers; consequently, there could not have been a contemporaneous native dynasty, and therefore the monarchs of what is called by Wilkinson the 17th dynasty, must belong to the 16th.

I may here mention, that my impression, when I visited the grottoes of Beni Hassan, was, that they were executed at a period when neither disturbance at home nor wars abroad had harassed the people, but when, surrounded with plenty and security, they had given themselves up to jollity and pleasure. Once or twice, indeed, processions of military occur, and an attack on a fort is represented; but, mixed as this incident is with scenes of diversion, it is evidently in mere sport,—a mimic war. These tombs are of the 16th dynasty, and belong, I suppose, to the period immediately previous to the irruption of the Shepherds, whose love of plunder was probably incited by a careless state of prosperity. "There was corn in the land of Egypt."

The extirpation of the Shepherds is ascribed to the first kings of the warlike 18th dynasty; but so sensitive seems to have been the wounded pride of the Egyptians, that the victories attending their expulsion do not appear to have been recorded on their monuments. The only record seems to be a tomb at El Kab, mentioned by Champollion, of "Ahmoses, fils de Obschné, l'un de ces braves qui, sous le Pharaon

Ahmoses, achevaient l'expulsion des Pasteurs et délivraient l'Egypte des Barbares."

Rosellini, M.S. tom. iii., p. 107, has published copies of some small tablets that appear to refer to victories gained by the same monarch in Lower Egypt.

From a tablet in the quarries at Tourah we learn that Amoses ruled over Upper and Lower Egypt, and opened the quarries there for the restoration of certain temples.

Champollion, Rosellini, and other well-informed writers, agree in considering that the Shepherds were a Scythian race; and the monuments thus brought to light may serve to identify the particular tribe of that very vaguely denominated people.

The worship represented on these monuments is of the Sun, and the Sun only; and if we refer to Herodotus, Book I. 201, &c., where he speaks of the Massagetæ, a great and powerful nation, by some esteemed Scythians, we find he expressly says that the Sun was their only deity.

At a later period the Massagetæ were powerful enough to defeat Cyrus: we find that at that time they were governed by a queen; and it may be remarked, that in the sculptures at Karnac, at El Tell, at Gebel Toonh, and in the tomb of Sai in the western valley at Thebes, the monarchs are always accompanied by their queens, who seem to have nearly equal honours paid them.

Sharon Turner has pointed out many Coptic words in the Saxon language, and deduces the Saxons from the Sacæ, a Scythian nation whose original country seems to have been on the borders of the Caspian; exactly the situation assigned by Herodotus to the Massagetæ. This name (Sacæ) reminds us also of the

name Scios or Scheto, by which the Shepherds were called by the Egyptians.

Further information upon this very interesting subject can, I fear, be obtained only by the destruction of the magnificent monuments of the kings of the 18th dynasty, unless some tomb that shall have escaped mutilation should hereafter be discovered; though it is evident from those at El Tell that the vengeance of the Egyptians, and the desire to obliterate every trace of the hated race, led them to mutilate even the sacred abodes of the dead.

I cannot, however, close this Paper without a recommendation to all travellers to examine well the site of the ancient city near El Tell, as from the fragments of many statues and sculptures I there saw it is probable that interesting and useful inscriptions may be found.

XIX.—ON THE HISTORY OF THE MONASTERY OF ELY, DURING THE REIGN OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

BY JAMES ORCHARD HALLIWELL, ESQ., F.R.S., &c.

(Read May 14, 1841.)

ETHELBERT, King of the East Angles, is said to have founded a church[1] (not a monastery, as erroneously stated by all modern historians) dedicated to St. Mary, about a mile distant from the present city of Ely, at a place called Cratendune. This church was destroyed by the army of Peuda, King of the Mercia.[2] In the year 673, Ethelred, daughter of Auna, King of the East Angles, founded a monastery in the same place, and, according to the Saxon Chronicle, was consecrated abbess of her own foundation the following year by Wilfrid, Archbishop of York. This nunnery continued in the full observance of monastic discipline till the year 870, when the church and the nuns were destroyed together by the Danes under Inguar and Hubba. In the year 970, King Edgar having determined on the restoration of the monastery, the carry-

[1] MS. Cotton. Nero, A. xv., and Bib. Reg. 18 C. 1.

[2] Bentham's History of Ely, edit. 1771, p. 54. See also Tanner's Notitia Monastica, in loc.; Willis, Mit. Ab. vol. i. p. 265; Bentham, p. 11; and Stevens, vol. i. p. 391.

ing his design into effect was committed to Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, who, having obtained the Isle of Ely free of regal jurisdiction, dismissed the priests who were found there, gave orders for repairing the church, and established therein a convent of monks. From an unique manuscript,[3] which has hitherto escaped the notice of every antiquary, we learn the story circulated by the priests as a reason why Ethelwold dismissed the secular priests: when he had resolved that they should be retained, he heard a voice out of the cross, saying, *Absit hoc ut fiat!* 'God forbid that this should be done!' and he immediately expelled them. Thomas Eliensis[4] tells us that having led disorderly lives was the cause of their dismissal. From this time to the Conquest the monastery enjoyed its privileges uninterrupted.

We now learn the history of this monastery from the preface to the Ely Cartulary, preserved in the Public Library of the University of Cambridge; and as the minute particulars therein contained have never been printed, I here give a translation of this singular document:

"In the time of Thurstan, our Abbot of Ely, who was descended from parents considerably eminent in the town of Wichford, near Ely, King Harold, the son of Godwin, and with him almost the whole nobility of England, were slain by the army of William Duke of Normandy, first-cousin to St. Edward the king, on the feast of St. Calixtus the Pope, in the year of our Lord 1066. Wherefore Egilwin, Bishop of Durham, Egfrid, Abbot of St. Alban's, Earl Margarus, and Edward

[3] Bib. Reg. 18 C. 1. Mus. Brit.

[4] Hist. in Angl. Sacra, vol. i. p. 602.

Byarme, with various other leading men of the realm, who, strenuously opposing the attempts of the Bastard, fled to us, together with their friends, laden with their richest treasures; by whose assistance we withstood, for seven years, the impetuous threatenings of the Normans; until Belasius (for he in this expedition commanded the king's army), circumnavigating certain mounds at the extremity of the south causeway of Alderhithe, thrown up for the purpose of the army's lodging safely in the night, (from which Belasius, the general, took his name, although we now corruptly call them Belsar's Hills,) and having unexpectedly got together a great number of boats, surprised us. Then a council being held, it seemed advisable to the leaders of this intestine broil to implore the royal mercy: upon which some were dispatched to the king's court, at that time at Warwick, carrying rich treasures to the king, the gift of atonement, and compensation of their misconduct and rash enterprise; with which the king was satisfied, but on these terms and conditions, that, during his pleasure, forty royal officers should be lodged at the expense of the monastery; for the king feared that while he was exerting his forces against the unsubdued Scots, the Isle of Ely (which was in power truly formidable) might again occasion some danger by a revolt. The knights are sent for, they arrive, and are present with their household, every one of whom has under him a monk of the first order, as an officer under his earl, or a guest under his host. But the king ordered that Brithnoldus, the cellarer, should dispense provisions to the officers and monks promiscuously in the public hall of the convent. In short, the officers with their earls, the guests with their hosts, the knights with their monks,

the monks with their knights, were most grateful to each other; for each and all of them mutually afforded each other the offices of humanity. At length, the civil flames being extinguished, and the wishes of the king being confirmed agreeably to his desire, after five years, his severe reprehension being piously appeased, it pleased the king to take away the yoke under which the pride of the monks had been sufficiently humbled, and the Conqueror recalled the officers to punish the unnatural wickedness of his son Robert, who, at that time, was giving a full scope to his pleasures in Normandy. They departed with grief, and our monks, wonderful to relate, lamented the departure of these most illustrious companions, heroic knights, and most pleasing guests, not only in tears, but in dismal howlings and exclamations, and struck their breasts in despair, after the manner of a bride whose husband is unseasonably hurried from her sweet embraces to arms; for they were apprehensive that, when forsaken, they would be exposed to plunder: while their armed guests remained, to whose fidelity they committed themselves and their fortunes, they spent their time securely. All things being now ready for their journey, all our monks (of whom there was a great number) in their hoods, dutifully attended their generous guests in their departure as far as Hadenham, with hymns, crosses, thuribals, processions, and every solemnity, and, when returned, took care to paint the arms of each knight on the walls of the refectory, to the perpetual remembrance of the uncommon humanity of their military guests, which from time to time, from ancestors to successors, and from dark antiquity to our modern posterity, are accurately delineated, to be seen by all, not without a certain pleasing admiration,

in the same manner as they are depicted in the margin, and here honourably shine forth."

In the original Cartulary the names of the knights, forty in number, with their companions, are given; and their arms are emblazoned in the margin.

Mr. Wright, in the preface to his edition of *Vita et Gesta Herwardi*, has printed "an account of the taking of the Ely," from a MS. in the British Museum of the 16th century, but it is altogether different from that given above, and, being of a much more modern date, is necessarily less to be relied upon.

XX.—ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES PROVING A CHANGE OF DYNASTY.

BY SIR THOMAS PHILLIPPS, BART.

(Read May 14, 1840.)

As connected in some degree with the last observations which the Society has done me the honour to read,[1] the following remarks may be seasonably inserted.

In the successive changes of power which have occurred in the British Isles, we cannot but see how regularly the nation has adopted the names which were current among the prevailing dynasties.

Not to go further back than the Norman Conquest, it is evident how uniformly this fact has occurred. From the time of William I. we hear no more of the Edgars, the Athelstans, the Edreds, of the Saxons, but the Norman line and power are clearly traced by the Williams, the Henrys, and Richards, till the accession of the Scotch dynasty, which introduced the names James and Charles. This also failed with their power; and after a single interval of an Orange name, we come to the Hanoverian or German dynasty, which brings in the name of George, never heard of among the patronymics of our previous rulers. And now,

[1] See page 20.

instead of the Elizabeths, the Marys, and the Annes, of former times, we have adopted those of a new dynasty in the name of Victoria. With all these changes the populace themselves have kept pace, and given their children the names of their ruling sovereigns,—names which would probably never have been admitted among the people in general, had not their sovereigns given them the stamp of currency.

These remarks may be of use in directing the attention of historians to *minutiæ* which form unequivocal proofs of history in their general occurrence, although variations may occur from some accidental circumstance; such as in the introduction of the name of Edward in the 13th century. If we go back to the earliest period of our history, we find the same rule followed. We meet with no British names, as rulers, after the Saxon Conquest, and these last endured until the Danish dynasty introduced the names of Canute, Hardicanute, Sweyn, and others peculiar to Denmark.

This rule may be also adopted in the names of places, which often, perhaps we may say generally, betray the origin of their conquering settlers. This is very clear in two portions of the kingdom, Pembrokeshire and Lincoln. With this last county, indeed, may be included great part of the eastern coast of England, north of the Thames. In the southern district of Pembroke, we find numerous foreign names of places intermixed with the British; as Tenby, Milford, Haverford, Johnston, Herbrandston, Hubberston, Haroldston, Fishguard, Gumfreston, Bosheston, Flemston, Hogeston, Jeffreyston, Yerbeston, Cosheston, Upton, Boulston, Reynaldston, Stainton, Castle-Martin, &c., none of which names are found in the northern half of

that county, nor in the adjoining counties of Carmarthen or Cardigan.

These rules also, when applied to the British provinces, show clearly that neither Wales nor Cornwall were completely conquered by the Saxons.

With regard to Lincoln, and the eastern coast, we find remarkable peculiarities in the names, which afford indubitable evidence of their Danish or Norwegian settlement. Numerous towns and villages in the counties on the eastern coast end in *by* and *holm*, which are terminations rarely found on the western and southern side of England, where the most usual ending is *ham* and *ton*. If we refer to the names of places still existing in Denmark or Norway, and on the shores of the Baltic generally, we find that these two terms still exist in the provinces of North and South Jutland, as in the following instances,—Engelholm, Norholm, Erningsholm, Rosenholm, Hunsbye, Olbye, Vejbye, Furrebye, Uggerbye, Stabye, Lybye, Sæbye, Tornebye, Strandbye, and others too numerous to recite. These terminations are met with along the whole of the shores of the Baltic, both east and west, (excepting the shores of Poland and Prussia,) but nowhere so frequently as in Jutland. The North Riding of Yorkshire appears to have been colonized chiefly by Norwegians, for there we find a proof in the frequent termination *dale*, which is of constant occurrence still in Norway, but not (or rarely) to be found in Jutland. So that it may be laid down nearly as a general rule that where we find villages terminating in *by* and *holm*, such villages were colonized by Jutes or *Swedes*, and where they end in *dale* or *ness*, by Norwegians.

These rules, applied to other nations in Europe, particularly on the eastern side of it, might possibly

show the gradual colonization of this quarter of the globe from that of Asia, by the strong resemblance, if not identity, of the Persian or Armenian terminations of the names of places with those in the adjacent countries of Europe; and thus we may read the revolutions of empires in the simple change of names.

Those who are studying the hieroglyphic history of Egypt may perhaps find these hints applicable to the various cartouches which contain the names of the Egyptian kings; at all events it would be desirable to take some notice whether they are so, or not.

XXI.—NOTES ON OBELISKS.

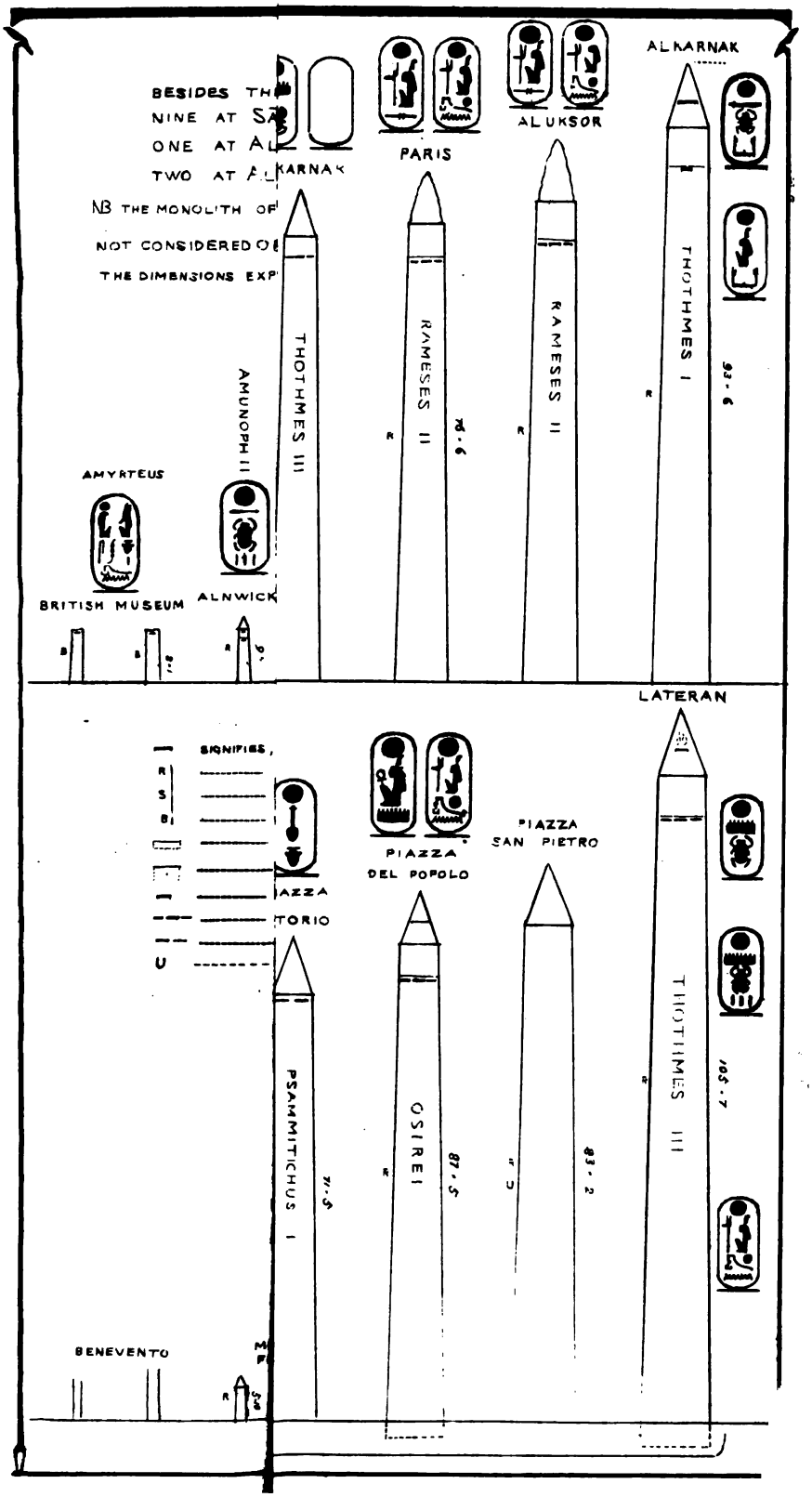
BY JOSEPH BONOMI, ESQ.

(Read Jan. 9th, 1840.)

When at Rome, in the winter of 1838-9, I took the opportunity of making drawings of several of the Egyptian obelisks which adorn that city, and which have been heretofore principally known to the learned from the delineations of Kircher and Zoëga, whose works were published at a time when the character of the hieroglyphics was less understood than it is at present.

Three of the most ancient of them,—that of San Giovanni Laterano, of Porta del Popolo, and of the Piazza Rotonda,—I have the honour of now submitting to the Royal Society of Literature, together with a few observations, general and descriptive.

The monuments of Egypt properly called obelisks may be described as long stones, quadrilateral, diminishing from the base upwards, till, within about a tenth of the height, the sides converge to a point. The width of the base of an obelisk is usually about a tenth of the height, to that part where the sides begin to converge; it is always made of a single stone, and most commonly of granite: there are, however, two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OSIREI
THOTHMES III
BENEVENTO

small ones in the British Museum, of basalt, and one at Philæ of sandstone.

Other monuments of Egypt and Ethiopia have also acquired the name of obelisk; as that of the Fayoom, and that of Axum; but they differ considerably in point of form from the definition supplied by the great majority.

The צלם *tzlm* (translated εἰκόνα by the Greek interpreters) or image of gold which king Nebuchadnezzar set up in the plain of Dura, in the province of Babylon (Dan. iii. 1), agrees with the proportions of an Egyptian obelisk; as does the temple of Bel or Belus (Dan. i. 2), erected by that monarch and his father, with those of an Egyptian pyramid, (Herodot. I. 181, &c.) This image was sixty cubits high and six wide, making the height ten times its width,—proportions which, I am inclined to think, cannot refer to the image of a man, but rather to an obelisk,—the type of the solar rays, as defined by Pliny,[1] "Obeliscos vocantes, Solis numini sacratos. Radiorum ejus argumentum in effigie est, et ita significatur nomine Ægyptio,"—in connexion with the Sabian religion of the Babylonians.

At that remote period, when obelisks were first made in Egypt, it was customary with the patriarchs of the Jews to set up stones to perpetuate the memory of great events, and to dedicate the place to the Almighty. Such stones are, by Strabo, emphatically called Books of History; an epithet which might be applied with equal propriety to Egyptian obelisks, although the patriarchal monuments must have differed considerably from those of Egypt; for we do

[1] And Ammianus, lib. xvii.

not read that they were inscribed, or fashioned by art; and they were generally placed on that spot where the circumstance which they were destined to perpetuate occurred.

The pyramidal part of an obelisk was not unfrequently covered with a bronze cap: this was probably the case with all those that have not the pyramidion adorned with sculpture, like the two of Luxor, and that of Materiah, on the apex of which Abd El-Lateef saw the bronze covering in the 13th century.

I. LATERAN OBELISK.

History informs us that the obelisk of San Giovanni Laterano, the largest of all those of Rome, (Constantine the Great having conveyed it from Heliopolis to Alexandria, intending it to adorn his new capital: Amm. Marcel. lib. xvii.) was brought from Egypt by Constantius, and placed in the Circus Maximus; whence Sixtus V. caused it to be excavated, restored, and erected in the Piazza San Giovanni Laterano, under the direction of the celebrated Fontana, A.D. 1588.

This interesting monument was found broken into three pieces, and it was considered necessary to cut four palms' length from the base, in order to make it capable of sustaining itself in its present position. The dimensions of this obelisk have been given in a work by G. B. Cipriani, published at Rome in 1828: it is there stated to be 144 palms high, and 12½ wide at the base; in which latter measure he differs from another account as much as half a palm.[2]

Having an opportunity of mounting to the top of

[2] The Roman palm is about 8¾ inches, English measure: it is divided into 12 onci.

the pedestal last winter, I found, by taking the dimensions of the lower part at a horizontal line representing the heaven over the sculpture on the base, that it measured 12 palms 6 onci on two sides, and the two others 12 palms 10 onci. Adopting the greater of these two measurements, and giving to the obelisk its entire length as recorded, the proportions will be found to agree tolerably with those laid down as usually given to these monuments by the Egyptians; viz., that the height of the pyramidion should be about a tenth of the whole length, and the base a tenth of the shaft.

On the pyramidal part of the obelisk of San Giovanni, on all four sides, is sculptured the same subject, differing only in the titles given to the god Amon, who presents to Thothmes III. the emblem of life, which with one hand he applies to the nostrils of the king,[3] while with the other he holds the hand of the monarch. Over this representation, on the south side, as it now stands, are a few hieroglyphics contained in two lines.

A similar subject occupies the next compartment on all four sides, with this difference only, that in these representations the god is seated, and the king is on his knees, presenting an offering to the deity. On the two narrow sides of the obelisk the altar behind the throne of Amon is omitted.

It is evident in all these sculptures, when the sun is obliquely situated with regard to the surface on which they are engraved, that the figure and hieroglyphics of Amon are considerably lower than the figure and

[3] May not there have been, among the Egyptians, a tradition of the creation of man?

hieroglyphics of the king, and that the sculpture is in a different style.

The next compartment is occupied by the great hawk and his accompaniments, (the usual commencement of hieroglyphic royal inscriptions,) and a figure of the king, who, on all sides but the south, is standing, and making an offering to this symbol of the divinity; but on the south side he is sitting, and presenting to the *beak* of the hawk the same emblem of life that in the former sculptures he receives from the hand of Amon.

Below the hawk, which presides over the centre column of the vertical hieroglyphics, is the usual parallelogram or standard, terminating in a row of perpendicular lines. The two outer vertical columns, added by Thothmes IV., are very inferior to the centre column in beauty of execution and correctness of form: this is also the case on the obelisks of Luxor, and that of Porta del Popolo. But the circumstance to which it is particularly desirable to call the attention of hieroglyphists, is the concavity of the surface wherever the figure or titles of Amon occur on this, (except on the base, which was executed in the time of Rameses,) and on the large obelisks of Karnac; evidently showing that, in these more ancient works of the Egyptians, Amon usurps the place of some divinity who preceded him, and whose figure and titles have been most scrupulously erased, to make room for those of his rival: what was the figure of this more ancient divinity, or when this change took place, are questions interesting in the highest degree to the historian and hieroglyphist.

The vertical columns terminate at about five palms from the present base of the obelisk, and immediately

below them is the horizontal line that represents the sky or heaven to the subject underneath, which latter on two sides is entirely obliterated; while, on the two others, sufficient remains to discover (even if the name of Rameses, who completed the work of Thothmes III. and IV., had been wanting,) to what period they are to be attributed; a period which, brilliant as it was in the production of great works, was yet deficient in the higher qualities of art exhibited in the sculptures of an age many centuries prior, as this monument itself sufficiently testifies: indeed, so ancient are some of the most admirable works of the Egyptians, that between them and the Deluge there would not have been sufficient time to have invented even the tools indispensable to the execution of such works, if we were to suppose that man came out of the ark uninstructed and barbarous; but, as we are told that there were workers in brass and iron before that period, there is no difficulty in accounting for the perfection displayed in the executive part of these curious monuments. They claim, however, our admiration for other qualities. The knowledge of natural history which they display must be derived from a higher and more ancient source; namely, from the instruction in that science which was given to Adam by the Creator himself, and of which these most ancient and interesting monuments of human genius exhibit perhaps but a feeble manifestation.

On three sides of this obelisk, and on the obelisk of the Porta del Popolo, are deep square holes, generally cut in places where the hieroglyphics afforded, as it were, an opportunity for so doing without rendering them conspicuous. No such blemishes are to be found on the obelisks in Egypt: it may therefore be presumed

that it was a contrivance of the Romans to facilitate the transport and erection of these ponderous examples of ancient magnificence; particularly as similar holes are found in the great stones in the wall of Baal-bek, which is known to be of Roman construction.

II. FLAMINIAN OBELISK.

The obelisk of the Piazza del Popolo, called also the Flaminian, is the third in point of size now standing in Rome.[4]

It is historically recorded (Amm. Marcel. lib. xvii.; Plin. lib. xxxvi. c. 29) that this obelisk was brought from Heliopolis, in Egypt, by Augustus, and placed in the Circus Maximus, or the Campus Martius, whence it was excavated by order of Sixtus V., and elevated on its present pedestal in the Piazza del Popolo, A. D. 1589.[5] Sixtus V., with a spirit much more to be esteemed than that which animated the iconoclasts, availed himself of these monuments of ancient Rome by dedicating them to the service of Christianity.

This obelisk was found broken into three pieces; and in order to render it capable of sustaining itself,

[4] It is said that a large obelisk forms the foundation of some palace in the Corso, near the Gesū.—*Nibby's Rome.*

[5] This is evidently the obelisk of Sesostris, referred by Pliny, xxxvi. 29, to the *Campus Martius;* while that of king Semneserteius (the contemporary of Pythagoras), which the same writer refers to the *Circus Maximus* (xxxvi. 7), is as clearly the present obelisk of Monte Citorio,—the reputed Campensian obelisk of Pliny,—which is of the Saïte dynasty. These two obelisks were chronologically reversed by the learned Dr. Young and other writers previously to the detection of the true hieroglyphic names,—that of Monte Citorio having been referred to the Sesostridæ, and that of the Porta del Popolo to the Psammitichi.

three palms' length was cut from the base. Its present height is 107 palms, and, according to the same author, (Cipriani, from whom I extract this measure,) the base is 11 palms wide; which measure, multiplied into its original length, would make the former one-tenth of the whole height within one palm. The pyramidion in this example, like that of San Giovanni, is adorned with sculpture on all the four sides. The subject represented is the king in the form of a sphinx making offering to the god. The hieroglyphics in the two ovals in front of the sphinx are the same as those in the ovals of the tomb discovered by Belzoni in the valley of the Biban-al-moluk, except on the east face, as it now stands, on which side of the obelisk the name of Osirei does not once occur; in other respects the subject is the same.

The next compartment is occupied by a similar subject to that engraved on the pyramidion; but in this representation the king appears *in propria persona*, offering precious gifts to the divinity before whom he is kneeling. The same arrangement as to the hieroglyphics takes place in this series; viz., on three sides are the name and title of Osirei, and on one side (the east) the name of his son and successor Rameses. In none of these subjects is the god represented giving the emblem of life to the king, as in the Lateran obelisk.

After this compartment follows, on each face of the obelisk, the three vertical columns of hieroglyphics: over each column presides the hawk, with the usual oblong enclosure, terminating in certain horizontal and perpendicular bars.

The centre column on each face is deeper and better executed than the lateral ones: the surface within the

hieroglyphics of the centre column is polished,[6] and it continues to the base; but the two outer columns terminate at about 12 palms from it, that space being occupied by a figure of the king on one side of the column, and on the other by the figure of the deity, to whom the king, on each face, is represented as offering, on his knees, various gifts. The ovals that accompany this series on the east side are those of Rameses, and on the three other sides, those of his father. The only other remarkable difference in the sculptures on the base is, that on the east side the god is in the erect position, while on the other he is sitting.

The high historical value of this monument is increased, like that of San Giovanni, and those at Alexandria, by the circumstance of its being the work of more than one monarch; for it is evident that the east face is entirely the work of Rameses, and the three other faces, except the lateral columns, the work of Osirei. The lateral columns in all the faces are the work of Rameses. It seems to have been not unusual to erect obelisks with but one column of hieroglyphics down the centre, the side lines in every instance appearing to be an after-work, and, in most examples, being demonstrably so. The outer columns on the great obelisks of Karnac, that of St. John Lateran, and those of Alexandria, I think are decidedly posterior. The obelisks of Materiah, of the Atmedan or Hippodrome in Constantinople, and the small one in the Piazza Rotonda, have but one centre column.

[6] This is also the case with the centre column in the Lateran obelisk, and those of Luxor; the two outer columns, in all these examples, being seemingly left from the chisel.

The well-known character[7] which occurs in the oval of Osirei, on this obelisk, and on most other monuments where it was sculptured, has been either carefully converted into the figure of the hawk, or rudely obliterated. The age at which that universal destruction of this curious figure took place may be defined in some measure by this monument; for it occurs once on the east face, among the small hieroglyphics of the subject on the base: it was therefore not till after or in the age of Rameses, that the order for converting it into the hawk, or obliterating it, was issued. In this instance it has been rudely defaced, but in the hieroglyphics of the centre columns, where it occurs only in the name of Osirei, it has been most ingeniously converted into the hawk-headed figure by lowering the surface within a prescribed line, sufficiently to obliterate the ears and tapir-like proboscis of the animal, and then engraving the hawk's head in its place. This, indeed, was the only means of accomplishing the change; for the hieroglyphics of this obelisk partake of the character of those on the walls of Medinet Haboo, being very deeply cut. It would therefore not have been possible, in this instance, to have eradicated the character, as on the obelisk of San Giovanni, without too much injuring the surface.

The hieroglyphics of this obelisk are very inferior to those on the Lateran monument; but inferior as they are, the attempts at restoration are conspicuously worse; and when we consider that these restorations were made in Rome, where the Genius of Sculpture

[7] This character has been the theme of a learned and ingenious dissertation: "Chronological Inquiry," by J. P. Cory, Esq.

has resided ever since he was driven from the shores of Greece, we may form some notion of the excellence of those monuments of Egypt, which hitherto have been considered as specimens of the infancy of art.

III. OBELISK OF THE PIAZZA ROTONDA.

This obelisk was re-erected by Clement XI., in the Piazza Rotonda, A. D. 1711. It is much smaller than those of the Lateran and Porta del Popolo. The height of the shaft is 72 Roman palms, and its breadth at the base 3 palms 6 onci.

It offers the peculiarity in the apex, and has but a single column of hieroglyphics, with the nomen and prænomen of Rameses II., on each of the four sides.

As regards the original sites of the obelisks, it should be mentioned, that there are none found on the west bank of the Nile, as no pyramids are found on the eastern bank of the river in Egypt Proper;—the obelisk appearing to be a decoration of the cities of the living, symbolised by the rising of the sun; as the pyramid is of those of the dead, symbolised by the setting of that luminary.

There are exceptions to this principle, with regard to the dwelling-places of the dead; for some extremely curious and highly wrought tombs are on the east side. They are, however, less abundant than on the west, and are found only in those parts of the valley where the mountains approach the river; but there are no eastern pyramids or royal tombs. The Sons of the Sun rose and descended with their Father, by whom they were never deserted, even in their passage through the lower hemisphere.

I am inclined, as already intimated, to exclude the

Fayoom obelisk or pillar, with a semicircular apex, from the list of those lofty remains of antiquity, not only on account of its form, and bulky and inelegant proportions,—the breadth of the base on one side being about one-sixth of the whole height, and nearly one-fourth on the other,—but also because it is not on the eastern bank. It belongs more properly to the class of the funereal tablets ⊓, and may help to elucidate a passage in Strabo,[8] which seems to connect the obelisks with the sepulchral monuments of Egypt, contrary to the evidence of discovery.

It would be curious to find an obelisk at Memphis, where none have hitherto been discovered, nor do I think there are any at Gourna. It is, in fact, evident that there is nearly as good a reason for not finding an obelisk on the west side, as there is for not finding pyramids on the east; nor do I think we shall be able to assign a better, till we know more about the wonders of ancient times.

[8] After speaking of the rock tombs of the Theban Necropolis on the western bank, he asserts, that on certain obelisks (tablets?) near them were inscriptions declaratory of the wealth and power of the kings, and of their empire extending to Scythia, Bactriana, India, &c., lib. xvii.

XXII.—DESCRIPTION OF THE ALNWICK OBELISK.

BY JOSEPH BONOMI, ESQ.

(Read November 12, 1840.)

I BEG permission to lay before the Royal Society of Literature a drawing and description of an Egyptian obelisk, in the collection of a noble and learned member of the Society, which was brought to this country in the present year; together with some observations regarding the historical and chronological value of the monument, for which I am indebted to another of its members, my friend Mr. Cullimore, and by which it will appear, that although not of the colossal proportions of the monuments I had last season the pleasure of describing, it possesses some features which render it equally deserving the attention of the Society.

This obelisk was recently found in one of the villages of the Thebaïd, and presented to Lord Prudhoe, during his last visit to Egypt in 1838, by the present ruler of that country, whence it has been transferred to the museum of Alnwick Castle, formed through the munificence of this liberal patron and promoter of the arts and sciences. It is thus happily rescued from the destruction which has deprived us of some of the

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most interesting monuments of the ancient world; many of them having within the last twenty years been broken into small fragments, to make lime for the walls of the cotton manufactories of the Pasha.

The temples of Egypt may be viewed, not only as monuments of the intelligence and ancient civilization of mankind—as vignettes in the great book of history, but also as possessing a peculiar interest, belonging, as they do, to a people intimately connected with the sacred records;—a circumstance which of itself gives to every fragment of them a charm that compensates for the want of that grace and elegance so much to be admired in the antiquities of Greece and Rome.

The obelisk in question is of the red granite of Upper Egypt, and measures, from its base to the extremity of its broken apex, seven feet three inches. The greatest width is nine inches and three-quarters, and nine inches on the two other sides of the base. The base of the pyramidion on two sides is eight inches and three-quarters; and on the other two, eight and a quarter. In this irregularity of the transverse dimensions, no less than in its general proportions, it resembles all the other monuments of the same class, the base being about a tenth of the entire height, as restored in the accompanying delineation.

On reference to the scale of the relative sizes of Egyptian obelisks on their original sites, and in the collections of Europe, which on a former occasion I had the honour to lay before the Society, it will be found that the present raises the number of standing obelisks to thirty, of which eight are in Egypt, fourteen in Italy, two in Constantinople, two in France, four in England; and descending from 105 feet, the colossal proportions of the Lateran, to five feet ten

inches, the dimensions of the minor Florentine obelisk.[1] Immediately before the latter, and next to the two of basalt in the British Museum, which measure eight feet one inch and a half, the subject of these remarks comes in as the twenty-ninth of the series, when marshalled in the order of their sizes, although, in point of antiquity, it will appear that its place is among the earliest of these monuments; since it bears the nomen and prænomen of Amonoph the Second, who ascended the throne of Thebes in the 160th year of Manetho's 18th dynasty, as the immediate successor of Thothmes the Third,[2] Mœris or Menophres, the author of the canicular period which goes by his name, and originates in the quadriennium B.C. 1325-1. So that we can hardly mistake in referring the present monument to the end of the 14th century before the Christian era; the obelisks of Osirtesen, Amon Nitocri, and the Thothmeses, being its only predecessors, and the great majority of a subsequent period, among which are the two obelisks of Amyrtæus in the British Museum, and that of Ptolemy and Cleopatra at Soughton Hall: its relative chronological place is

[1] Alexandria, one; Heliopolis, one; Karnac, four; Luxor, one; Philæ, one sandstone, uninscribed; Rome, twelve; Florence, two; Paris, one; Arles, one; British Museum, two; Soughton Hall, one; Alnwick Castle, one. If to this list we add the prostrate obelisk of Alexandria, the nine among the ruins of Saan, or Tanis, and the two at Karnac (of which fragments only remain), in all twelve of the colossal order, and of the period of the 18th and 22nd dynasties, the total number of known Egyptian obelisks will be augmented to forty-two.

[2] The statement of Herodotus, II. 13, that scarcely 900 years had elapsed from the death of Mœris, when the historian visited Egypt, appears to identify him with Menophres, whom Theon refers to the same period.

immediately before the great Sphinx, the work of Thothmes the Fourth, the son and successor of this Pharaoh.

While Amonoph the Third, whose remains are abundant, more particularly in our national collection, is the accredited Memnon of the Greek and Roman writers, Amonoph the Second, whose remains are scarce in the same ratio, (there being, I believe, not a single example in the British Museum,) is the Memnon of the Egyptian historian Manetho, whose Rathotis corresponds in name and place with the lower shield (Rathek), the third Amonoph of the hieroglyphic tablets, and of the statues in the plains of Gourna. "Amonophis reigned thirty-one years; he is supposed to be the Memnon to whom the musical statue was erected." (Manetho *apud Syncell.*; Cory's "Ancient Fragments," page 116.) To this piece of information Eusebius adds, "the Ethiopians, arriving from the river Indus, settled on the confines of Egypt," (Chron. Hieronym. num. 400-403,)—a remark which gives date to a tradition preserved by Herodotus (VII. 70), Strabo (II.), and other writers, that the same race inhabited the banks of the Indus and of the Upper Nile, and which has derived confirmation from the affinity between the Ethiopic and Sanscrit systems of writing pointed out by two learned men, Dr. Wall and Mr. Tudor, (Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Nov. 1837; Proceedings of the Numismatic Society, Jan. 1839,) apparently without either being aware of the theory of the other. The hieroglyphics of this interesting monument are nearly allied to that kind which may be strictly denominated *Incavo*, there being scarcely any rotundity within the outline,—a style unusual in monuments of this class and period.

A peculiar feature of this obelisk is, that it is inscribed only on one face; and, excepting two characters, which are a little doubtful, (owing rather to the slight incavo of the sculpture than to any subsequent injury,) the inscription is entire: as usual, however, on many of the remains of the Amonoph family, the nomen, where it is most prominent, appears to have been inserted to the prejudice of some former characters; the surface within the shield having been sufficiently lowered to obliterate whatever was engraved before the present characters were inserted, as may be easily ascertained by placing a ruler along it; whilst the same nomen also occurs among the small hieroglyphics on the upper part, which appears not to be an after-work.

The after-insertion of the nomen in all the known remains of Amonoph the Third, the grandson of the Pharaoh of this monument, to the prejudice of one more ancient which agreed with the prænomen of Amonoph the Third, is a fact which has not been sufficiently considered nor satisfactorily explained; and the problem in this instance extends to the second Amonoph, while the difficulty seems to be increased by the circumstance of the nomen on the upper part being of the original work. Did the Amonophs, by the insertion of a name founded on that of their tutelar divinity Amon, mean to supersede the worship of the divinity from whom the obliterated royal name was derived?

In my former Paper, on three of the Roman Obelisks, I alluded to the usurping propensities of the god Amon. The recovery of an obelisk of so interesting a reign, and certainly the only one of Amonoph the Second, of whom so few remains are to be found

amidst the abundant relics of the eighteenth dynasty, is, therefore, a subject of congratulation to the noble possessor and the world of antiquaries, independently of the peculiarities which it offers for solution; among which, the fact of the surface within the contour of the sculptures being nearly flat is not the least worthy of notice—a kind of sculpture found only in tombs and on stelæ, generally of the age of Psammetichus; for the significant decorations on the walls of Egyptian temples are either in low relief (basso-relievo), or in a kind of sculpture peculiar to Egypt, which may be denominated incavo-relievo, or sunk relief, in which the figure is expressed in relief within the outline, but never so prominent as to exceed the general surface.

XXIII.—ON THE FLAMINIAN OBELISK.

BY THE REV. GEORGE TOMLINSON.

(Read Dec. 9, 1841.)

THE origin and use of Egyptian obelisks are subjects which have till lately been wrapped in impenetrable mystery. Every one is aware of the immense labour bestowed upon these subjects by Zoëga and others, and of the unsatisfactory result of their researches. The key of this department of knowledge was lost with the language of ancient Egypt, and vain were all the attempts which were made by these learned writers to recover it.

But since the revival of the Phonetic system of hieroglyphics, their successors have been placed in a much more favourable position; and though we are still unable to give a full interpretation of all the inscriptions engraven upon these remarkable monuments, yet much may now be done towards elucidating their history and uses.

In this Paper I propose to give some account of the inscriptions upon the Flaminian obelisk, which stands in the Piazza del Popolo at Rome, and of which an engraving has been made for the Society by Mr. Bonomi.

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The account given by Zoëga shows that this obelisk was originally brought from Heliopolis to Rome by Augustus, and was erected in the Circus Maximus by that emperor, and that it was set up in its present position by Pope Sixtus V. in 1589.

The inscriptions themselves will show that the obelisk was originally erected by the Pharaoh who has been called Ousirei I. by Champollion and Rosellini, but whose name was Menephtha-Sethai, the father of Rameses the Great. The greater part of the inscriptions are, however, of the reign of Rameses himself.

The date therefore of this monument, according to Wilkinson, will be between 1385 and 1355 B.C.; but, according to Rosellini, between 1580 and 1600 B. C.

The inscriptions on each side of the obelisk consist of four distinct parts:

1. The apex.
2. The square compartment under the apex.
3. The longitudinal columns.
4. The base.

Each of these parts shall be noticed separately.

1. *The apex.*—It will be observed at a glance that the inscriptions on the apex are all of the same general character. Each is composed of a group consisting principally of a sphinx placed upon a pedestal, in front a deity seated on a throne; and each has four lines of hieroglyphics above the figures. The two lines which are over the sphinx contain in each case the nomen and prænomen of a king. Those on the *north*, *south*, and *west* sides of the apex contain the nomen and prænomen of Menephtha-Sethai, the father of Rameses the Great: the *east*, those of Rameses himself.

The inscription over the head of Rameses on the

east side of the apex (*a c*) reads thus: "The good god, (THE PHARAOH, GUARDIAN OF JUSTICE, APPROVED OF THE SUN,) the son of the Sun (AMMON-MAI RAMESES), (says) Give (me) a life strong and pure." The deity, who is seated on a throne crowned with the *shent* or double crown, holds in his hand the *crux ansata*, and says, (*a b*) "We give thee a pure life: (we) Athom, lord of Heliopolis."

The inscription on the *west* side of the apex is as follows: over the head of the sphinx (*a c*) is written, "The good god, (THE PHARAOH, ESTABLISHER OF JUSTICE,) the son of the Sun, MENEPHTHA-SETHAI, (says) Give (me) a life strong and pure." The deity says, (*a b*) "We give thee all strength: (we) Athom, lord of Heliopolis."

On the northern side of the apex the inscription over the sphinx contains the name of the king Menephtha-Sethai, and reads the same as that upon the west, but that which is over the deity (*a b*) is different. This deity is one of the forms of the Sun, and has a disc over his head, while the sphinx here wears the double crown. The god says to the king, "We give thee strength: (we) Thoré in his sacred bark."

On the south side of the apex the inscription is the same as the north, except that the god is a different form of the solar deity. He says (*a b*) to the sphinx, "We give thee a life all strong and pure: (we) Horphra *or* Horus-Phra, lord of the two worlds, the great god, the lord of heaven."

2. *The square compartment under the apex.*—In each of these the king is represented not as a sphinx, but in his proper human form. He has a head-dress composed of a disc, and two ostrich feathers surmounting the common ornament of goats' horns. He is kneeling

on one knee, to present his offerings. On the east, the king, Rameses the Great, who presents a small figure of Justice to the god Athom: on the west, north, and south, the king is Menephtha-Sethai, who presents offerings and libations to the deities Athom, Thoré, and Hor-phra, respectively. The inscriptions and the gifts of these deities are the same as in the corresponding sides of the apex, except that Athom and Thoré give him "an enlarged heart," (*a d.*)

3. *The longitudinal columns.*—Below the square compartment the inscriptions are divided into three columns, each commencing with the figure of a hawk, the sacred bird of Horus or the Sun, crowned with that double crown of "the upper and lower regions" which belonged more especially to Horus. Beneath the hawk, in every column, is the peculiar parallelogram called the *standard* of the kings; each of which standards upon this monument begins with the figure of a bull, which, as we learn from Horapollo, was the symbol of might or power united with moderation.

The vertical columns therefore, each of them, begin with the symbol of *Horus*, (called also Apollo by the Greeks,) and with the symbol of *power;* and, as Champollion long since observed, if we refer to the Greek translation of the obelisk given by Ammianus Marcellinus from Hermapion, we find that several of the στοῖχοι begin with the words Ἀπόλλων κρατερὸς, 'Apollo' or 'Horus the powerful,' just in the same manner as in these longitudinal columns. From this and other circumstances Champollion justly inferred that by the στοῖχοι were meant these columns.

We shall also find other points of agreement between these inscriptions and the Greek of Hermapion as we proceed. But it will be best to make a literal

translation of the inscriptions, as far as we can, before we enter into further comparison.

A slight inspection of the royal titles contained in the ovals or cartouches will serve to show that the central column of inscriptions on the *north*, *south*, and *west* sides relate to Menephtha-Sethai, the father of Rameses the Great, while the whole of the east side and the two outside columns on each of the other sides relate to Rameses himself.

We will first take the columns on the *east* side. The heads of all the animals on this side being turned to the right, we must begin, according to the general rule, to read the horizontal lines of figures on each column from right to left. These horizontal groups will be distinguished by the numerals according to their order. The translation of the titles contained in the standards will be given in *italics*, whilst those in the ovals will be printed in CAPITALS.

East Side.—Right-hand column A.

[1] The Horus, [2] *the powerful*, [3] *the beloved of the Sun*, [4] the Ra (*i. e.* the Sun), [5] the offspring of the gods, [6] the subjugator of the world, [7] the king, [8] THE PHARAOH, GUARDIAN OF JUSTICE, APPROVED OF THE SUN, [9] son of the Sun, [10] AMMON-MAI RAMESES, [11] who gives [13] joy to [12] the region of Heliopolis, [16] when it [17] beholds [14] the radiance [15] of the Solar mountain. [18] He who does this is the [19] lord of the world, [20] THE PHARAOH, GUARDIAN OF JUSTICE, APPROVED OF THE SUN, [21] son of the Sun, [22] AMMON-MAI RAMESES, [23] giving life [24] like the Sun.

East Side.—Centre column B.[1]

[1] The Horus, [2] *the powerful*, [3] *beloved of justice*. [4] The

[1] The figures referred to are those on the right.

king, [5] PHARAOH, GUARDIAN OF JUSTICE, APPROVED OF THE SUN, [7] son of the Sun, [8] AMMON-MAI RAMESES, [9] has erected edifices [10] like the stars of heaven, [10] he hath made [11] his deeds to resound [12] above the heaven, [13] scattering the rays of the Sun, rejoicing [14] over them [15] in his house [16] of periods of years. [18] In the — year [19] of his majesty, [20] he made good this edifice of his father, [21] whom he loved, [22] giving stability to his name in the abode of the Sun. [23] He who hath done this is the son of the Sun, [24] AMMON-MAI RAMESES, [26] the beloved of Athom, lord of Heliopolis, [27] giving life [28] for ever.

East Side.—Left-hand column C.

[1] The Horus, [2] *the powerful,* [3] *the beloved of justice,* [4] the resplendent Horus, [5] the director of the years, [6] the great one of victories, [7] the king, [8] PHARAOH, GUARDIAN OF JUSTICE, APPROVED OF THE SUN, [9] son of the Sun, [10] AMMON-MAI RAMESES, [11] has adorned [12] Heliopolis with [14] great [13] edifices, [15] honouring the gods [16] by (placing) their statues [17] in the [18] great temple. He, [19] the lord of the world, [20] PHARAOH, GUARDIAN OF JUSTICE, APPROVED OF THE SUN, [21] son of the Sun, [22] AMMON-MAI RAMESES, [23] giving life [24] for ever.

North Side.—Right-hand column D.

[1] The Horus, [2] *the powerful,* [3] *the beloved of the Sun,* the [4] Ra, [5] begotten of the gods, the [6] subjugator of the world, [7] the king, [8] PHARAOH, APPROVED OF THE SUN, [9] son of the Sun, [10] AMMON-MAI RAMESES, who [11] magnifies [12] his [13] name [14] in [15] every region [16] by the [17] greatness [18] of his victories, [19] the lord of the world, [20] PHARAOH, GUARDIAN OF JUSTICE, APPROVED OF THE SUN, [21] son of the Sun, [22] AMMON-MAI RAMESES, [23] giving life [24] like the Sun.

North Side.—Centre column E.

[1] The Horus, [2] *the powerful*, [3] *sanctified by truth* or *justice*, [4] lord of the diadems of Upper and Lower Egypt, [5] Month *or* Mandou of the world, [6] possessor (?) of Egypt, [7] the resplendent Horus, the Osiris (?), [8] the divine priest of Thoré, [9] the king, [10] PHARAOH, THE ESTABLISHER OF JUSTICE, [11] who renders illustrious [17] the everlasting [13] edifices [15] of Heliopolis, [18] by foundations (fit) [19] for the support of [20] the heaven, who has established, honoured, [21] and adorned the [22] temple of the Sun and of the rest of the gods, [23] which has been sanctified by him, [24] the son of the Sun, [25] MENEPHTHA-SETHAI, [27] the beloved of [26] the spirits (birds) of Heliopolis, [28] everlasting [27] like the Sun.

North Side.—Left-hand column F.

[1] The Horus, [2] the powerful, [3] *the son of Noubti* or *Seth*, [4] the resplendent Horus, the [5] director of the years, [6] the great one of victories, [7] the king, [8] PHARAOH, THE GUARDIAN OF JUSTICE, APPROVED OF THE SUN, [9] the son of the Sun, [10] AMMON-MAI RAMESES, [11] who fills [12] the temple of Bennô [14] with [17] splendid [15-16] objects, [19] the lord of the world, [20] PHARAOH, THE GUARDIAN OF JUSTICE, APPROVED OF THE SUN, [21] the son of the Sun, [22] AMMON-MAI RAMESES, [23] giving life [24] for ever.

The *south* and *west* sides are to be read from left to right in each of the perpendicular columns, the heads of the animals being all turned towards the left.

South Side.—Left-hand column G.

[1] The Horus, [2] *the powerful*, [3] *the beloved of justice*, [4] lord of the panegyries, [5] like [6] his father Phtha-Totonen or Totnen ; [7] the king, [8] PHARAOH, GUARDIAN OF JUSTICE, APPROVED OF THE SUN, [9] son of the Sun,

[10] AMMON-MAI RAMESES, [11] begotten and [12] educated [14] by [15] the gods, [16] builder [18] of their [17] temples, [19] lord of the world; [20] PHARAOH, GUARDIAN OF JUSTICE, APPROVED OF THE SUN, [21] son of the Sun, [22] AMMON-MAI RAMESES, [23] giving life [24] like the Sun.

South Side.—Centre column H.

[1] The Horus, [2] *the powerful,* [3] *the piercer of foreign countries by his victories;* [4] the lord of the diadems of Upper and Lower Egypt, [5] the establisher [6] of everlasting [6a] edifices; [6b] the resplendent Horus, [7] making his sanctuary [8] in the Sun, who loves him; [9] the king, [10] PHARAOH, ESTABLISHER OF JUSTICE, [11] the adorner of [12] Heliopolis, [15] who makes libations [16] to the Sun, [17] and the rest of the [18] lords [19] of the heavenly world, [20] who gives delight by his rejoicings [21] and—by [22] his eyes. [23] He does it, the son of the Sun, [24] MENEPHTHA-SETHAI, [26] beloved of Horus, the lord of the two worlds, [27] like the Sun, [28] everlasting.

South Side.—Left-hand column I.

[1] The Horus, [2] *the powerful,* [3] *the son of Phtha-Totonen,* [4] lord of the diadems of Upper and Lower Egypt, [5] possessor of [6] Egypt, [6a] chastiser of [6b] foreign countries; [7] the king, [8] PHARAOH, GUARDIAN OF JUSTICE, APPROVED OF THE SUN, [9] son of the Sun, [10] AMMON-MAI RAMESES, [11] who causes [12] rejoicings [13] in Heliopolis [14] by displaying his royal attributes; [19] lord of the world, [20] PHARAOH, GUARDIAN OF JUSTICE, APPROVED OF THE SUN, [21] son of the Sun, [22] AMMON-MAI RAMESES, [23] giving life [24] for ever.

West Side.—Left-hand column K.

[1] The Horus, [2] *the powerful,* [3] *the beloved of the Sun,* [4] lord of the panegyries, [5] like his [6] father Phtha-Totonen; [7] the king, [8] PHARAOH, GUARDIAN OF JUSTICE, APPROVED OF THE SUN, [9] son of the Sun,

[10] AMMON-MAI RAMESES, [11] lord of the diadems, [12] possessor of [13] Egypt, [14] chastiser of [18] foreign countries, [19] lord of the world, [20] PHARAOH, GUARDIAN OF JUSTICE, APPROVED OF THE SUN, [21] son of the Sun, [22] AMMON-MAI RAMESES, [22a] son of [22b] Thoré, [23] giving life.

Centre column L.

[1] The Horus, [2] *the powerful*, [3] *the beloved of the Sun and of justice*, [4] lord of the diadems of Upper and Lower Egypt, [5] scourge of foreign countries, [6] piercer of the Shepherds; [7] the resplendent Horus, [7] beloved of the Sun, [8] whose name is magnified; [9] the king, [10] PHARAOH, ESTABLISHER OF JUSTICE, [11] who fills Heliopolis [12] with [13] obelisks, [14] to illustrate with (their) [18-19] rays the [20] temple of the Sun; who, like the phœnix, fills [21] with good things [22] the great temple of the gods, inundating (?) it with [22a] rejoicings. He does it, who is the [23] son of the Sun, [25] MENEPHTHA-SETHAI, [26] beloved of the rest of the gods [27] who inhabit the great temple, [28] giving life.

Right-hand column M.

[1] The Horus, [2] *the powerful*, [3] *the son of Athom*, [4] the Ra, [5] offspring of the gods, [6] subjugator of the world; [7] the king, [8] PHARAOH, GUARDIAN OF JUSTICE, APPROVED OF THE SUN, [9] the son of the Sun, [10] AMMON-MAI RAMESES, [11] the resplendent Horus, [12] the director of the [13] years, [14] the great one of [15] victories, [19] the lord of the world; [20] PHARAOH, GUARDIAN OF JUSTICE, APPROVED OF THE SUN, [21] the son of the Sun, [22] AMMON-MAI RAMESES, [22a] son of [22b] Thoré, [23] eternal.

4. *The inscriptions at the base.*

On the *east* side, the Pharaoh, Rameses the Great, is represented kneeling before the god Athom, and offering him with the left hand one of the common pyramidical cakes. Over the king's head are his

standard and his two oval titles, which have occurred so often in this Paper that it is useless to repeat them.

The inscription over the head of Athom says: "We give thee the throne of *Seb* (Saturn), the altar (or honours) of Athom - - - - - - the diadems of Horus and Noubti, in a pure life: (we) Athom, lord of Heliopolis, the great god."

On the *north* side, Menephtha-Sethai, the father of Rameses the Great, is represented kneeling before the hawk-headed deity Hor-phra, or Horus-Sol. The inscriptions over the king's head consist of his standard and his two oval titles, which have been already given.

Over the head of the solar deity is written—"The speech of Hor-phra, lord of the two worlds. We give thee vigour, magnanimity, and strength, to have a life pure, and, like the sun, everlasting."

The *south* side of the base represents the king Menephtha offering the ordinary vases of unguents before Phra. The titles over his head are more than usually extravagant. He is called "the beloved of the great god, lord of heaven, residing in this temple. The Horus, *the powerful, giving life to the two worlds*, the king, lord of the world, lord of the eye of the Sun (?), the lord of strength." He is also called "son of the Sun, being of his race, and loving him."

The inscription over the solar god says: "The speech of Hor-phra, the enlightener of the two worlds, the great god, lord of heaven: We give thee all the worlds, all the countries - - - - - -, and to be lord of the south and the north, like the Sun, sitting for ever upon the throne of Horus."

The *west* side of the base represents Menephtha-Sethai kneeling before a standing figure of the same solar deity, crowned with the *shent*, to whom he is

making libations. The inscription is the same as that on the south side of the base, except that the standard is different. It bears the titles of the Horus, *the powerful, like Month*, or Mandou.

It will be easily observed that if we throw out the numerous repetitions which occur in these inscriptions, the original matter will be brought into a comparatively small compass, and it will not be necessary to repeat the etymological notices which I am about to offer every time the words or phrases occur.

The royal titles enclosed in the ovals or cartouches have been explained so often by Champollion, Wilkinson, and Rosellini, that it is unnecessary to resume the subject.

I may add, however, to the observations respecting the name of the father of Rameses the Great, that in the hieroglyphic form the first part of his proper name might be rendered either Menephtha or Pthamen, according as the name of the god Phtha is taken first or last: but in the Hieratic form it always stands last. And the second part, which was originally Sethai, was afterwards altered by the erasure of the figure of Seth or Typhon, and the substitution of Osiris or of Ra. This erasure and substitution has been made on the lower parts of this obelisk, but in the apex and the square compartment beneath it the figure of Seth still remains. I have therefore written the name Menephtha-Sethai. But it must be noted that this king is ordinarily called Osirei I. by Wilkinson and Rosellini.

In the inscription on the west side of this obelisk this king assumes the title or epithet of ⲦⲰⲢ ⲘⲚⲈ-ⲚⲈⲦ (Tor Mone-net) *Piercer of the Shepherds*. This epithet is not found, so far as I am aware, on any other of the monuments of Egypt, though the same people are

found in the list of captives as early as the time of Thothmes V., and probably earlier. They do not appear later than the reign of Rameses the Great. Let us see then how this will bear upon the questions relating to the invasion of the Shepherds, and their expulsion from Egypt.

Josephus adduces several passages from the Egyptian author Manetho, in which it is stated that after the first invasion of Egypt by the Shepherds, in the reign of Timæus, there was a long and bloody war between them and the Egyptian kings, till they were expelled in the reign of Mithra(Mesra)-Thothmosis; but that they afterwards invaded Egypt again, and joined with the slaves employed in the quarries against the Egyptians. Manetho also relates that they were expelled a second time by *Sethos* and his son *Rameses*. This would agree perfectly well with the monuments; for it is evident, from what we have observed, that there was a war carried on from the time of Thothmes V., or earlier, down to the time of Rameses the Great, and not afterwards, and that Sethos takes a peculiar title from his victories over the Shepherds. But it seems to me quite certain that Manetho refers not to the first Sethos, but to another of that name who stands at the head of the nineteenth dynasty. Dr. Prichard supposes that the account of the second invasion and expulsion is merely a confused repetition of the narrative relating to the first: but this is not a probable hypothesis; for these inscriptions show that there are traces of this people to be found under the kings of the eighteenth dynasty, long after the period of the first expulsion.

It may, however, be reasonably supposed that Manetho has by mistake attributed to the second Sethos

or Sethai the exploits of the first; for, whilst we are certain that Menephtha-Sethai and his son Rameses were two of the greatest and most warlike of the Pharaohs, it does not appear that Sethai or Ousirei II. was a prince in any way distinguished. Nor was he succeeded by his son, but by a king named Ramerri, whose name appears on the monuments, though not in the lists of Manetho.

I have translated the word Penné Heliopolis. Hitherto its phonetic value has not been accurately determined. Champollion always writes the word Poné. He translates it *le monde de conversion*, and supposes it to mean the tropical region. The letters of which the word is formed are simply P. N., with the determinative sign, the vowel or vowels being always omitted.[2] But the initial character is a *gate* with a sort of flag-staff before it, agreeing with the word ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲉ, Penné, πυλῶν.[3] And that the word means the city of Heliopolis, I cannot doubt; for that city was considered to be one of the gates of heaven: and we find that in the obelisk of Osortasen I., which is still standing on the ruins of that city, the inscriptions on each of the four sides speak of Athom, lord of Penné, the local deity, just as upon this Flaminian obelisk, which was brought from the same place. The local genii are also mentioned on both these obelisks exactly in the same way (see North Side, E. 26) as the *birds* of Poné or Pené. What these mystical birds are, does not clearly appear. But there is another bird found upon these Flaminian inscriptions, which opens a subject of considerable

[2] I have since found an example in which the vowels are given.

[3] Tattam, *in voc.*

interest, namely, the bird Benné or Bennô, the mystical bird of Osiris.

I hope hereafter to prove that this bird is the true phœnix of the Egyptians. In the mean time I will only observe that the word Benne in Egyptian is the name both of the bird phœnix and of the palm-tree, just as φοῖνιξ is in Greek. In fact, the Greek term is nothing more than the Egyptian word with a Greek termination, the β being softened by the aspirate into φ.

The same change may be observed in other words which have passed from the Egyptian into the Greek and Latin languages: as, for instance, the Latin word *fervor* is nothing more than the Egyptian word *berber*, which has nearly the same signification.

The name of the local deity has been written Atmou by Champollion and Rosellini; but the form in which it occurs in many places in the Hieratic shows that it should be Athom, the vowel being placed *after* the last consonant for reasons of caligraphy. As the name *Athom* occurs as a proper name in the Coptic Lexicon of Tattam, it seems strange that the form Atmou should have been used, or, at all events, that it should have been persisted in.

The correction of this name suggests an emendation of the present corrupt text of the Greek translation of Hermapion. It would appear, from the account of Ammianus Marcellinus, that this was the very obelisk from which the translation of Hermapion was made. Whether this be the case or not, it has been inferred, from considerations foreign to our present subject, that the deity Ἡρῶν mentioned in that translation is identical with the god Atmou or Athom.

This identity would be complete if, instead of Ἡρῶνος υἱὸς, we might read Ἠθῶμος υἱός.

That the Greek text is in a most corrupt state is evident. Zoëga says, (p. 26,) "Græca omnia tam in editione Romana quam in regio exemplari et in Colbertino deerant, primusque ex codice Hirsfeldensi ea edidit Gelenius (in Scriptt. Hist. Rom. Basileæ, 1533,) quem tamen conjecturæ suæ sæpius indulsisse non dubito." It would, therefore, be of great service in determining this question if any of the correspondents of the Society would examine the MSS. of Ammianus Marcellinus in the Vatican.

It seems doubtful, however, from the account given by Zoëga, whether any of these MSS. contain this part of the inscription.

Independent of these considerations, the name of Athom also suggests an inquiry of a different kind. The name of the second station of the Israelites in their Exodus from Egypt is Etham. This is written אתם ATHM in the Hebrew, the characters being exactly those of the hieroglyphics.

The name also of one of the treasure-cities was Pithom, which bears the same analogy to the name of Athom that Pi-beseth or Pi-basth does to Basht or Bubastis.

For these reasons I am inclined to think that Pithom was situated on the spot where the great sculptured block was found containing the statue of Rameses the Great, sitting between the gods Athom and Ra; namely, in the Wady Tomlat between Suez and the eastern branch of the Nile. Whether Pithom and Etham were the same place may be very doubtful, but what has been said will be sufficient to induce further inquiry.

In the interpretation of the hieroglyphics sculptured upon this obelisk, I have followed the system of

Champollion, and, with the exception of those passages which I have marked with a note of interrogation, the meaning of the rest may be considered as well established.

It would occupy too much time to give the proofs in detail, but they will be found for the most part in the Grammar and Dictionary of Champollion, and in the letter of Dr. Lepsius to Rosellini. I am also indebted to Mr. Birch, of the British Museum, for his assistance in this interpretation.

XXIV.—NOTICE ON THE VASE OF MEIDIAS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

BY THE CHEVALIER GERHARD.

(Read Jan. 27, 1842.)

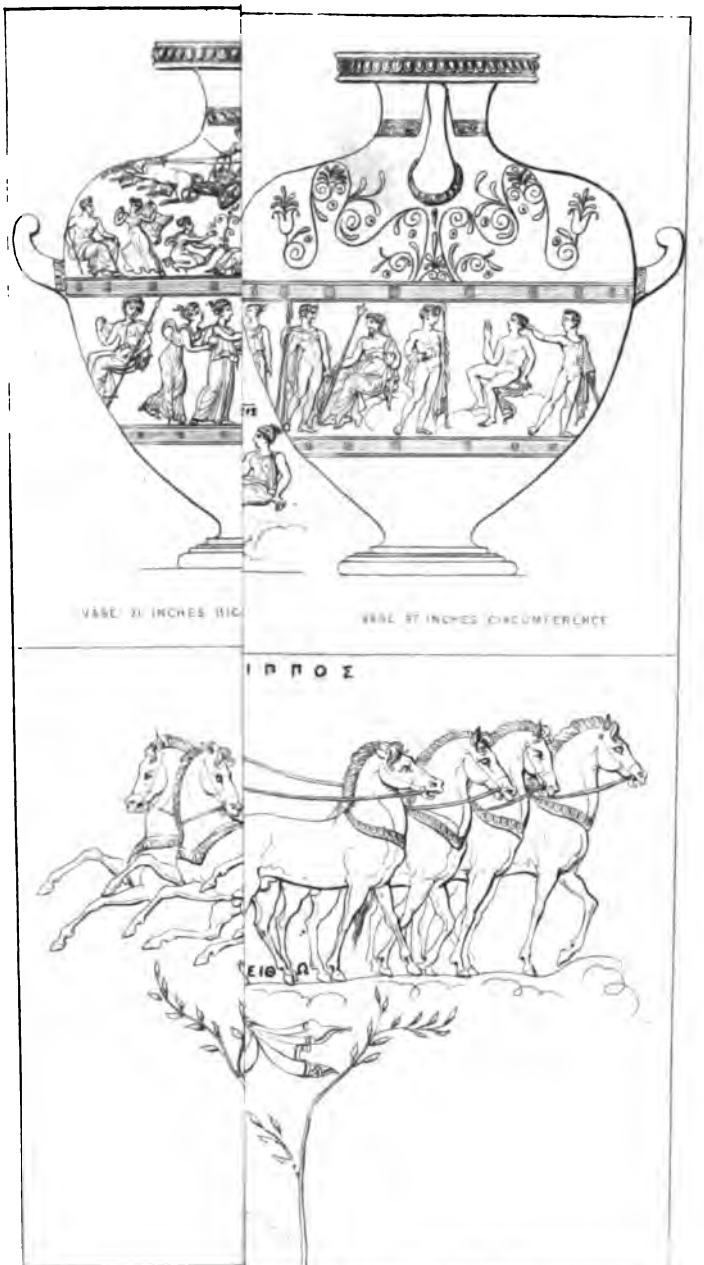
Un vase à trois anses, décoré à l'entour de nombreuses figures peintes dans le genre des poteries de Nola, est depuis long-temps un des principaux ornemens de la collection Britannique. Winckelmann[1] l'avait signalé comme le plus beau vase peint qu'il connaissait; les dessins qu'en publia plus tard D'Hancarville[2] justifient complètement cet éloge. Ce qui restait à regretter, c'est que le sujet d'un monument de si haute valeur était généralement mal entendu: jugement, que j'ose énoncer avec une assurance parfaite, grâce aux légendes antiques, que je viens de découvrir, au-dessus des figures representées sur ce vase.

La découverte de ces inscriptions, que je dois presqu' autant à l'assistance complaisante des conservateurs du Musée Britannique[3] qu'à mes propres soins, me

[1] Winckelmann, Geschichte der Kunst, III. 4, 36, *sq.*

[2] D'Hancarville, Antiquités Etrusques, vol. ii. Pl. 127-130. Cf. Dubois-Maisonneuve, Introd. Pl. III. Millin, Gall. Myth. XCIV. 385.

[3] Je saisis cette occasion pour renouveler ma reconnaissance à


VASE 21 INCHES HIGH
VASE 27 INCHES CIRCUMFERENCE
ΙΠΠΟΣ

paraît réclamer de bon droit une place, quelle-qu'elle soit, dans l'histoire de l'archéologie moderne. Aurait-on jamais soupçonné qu'un vase qui avait attiré l'attention passionnée de Winckelmann, et qui postérieurement avait occupé non seulement l'auteur d'un grand dessin publié en quatre feuilles,[4] mais aussi plusieurs archéologues, dont chacun à son tour y avait exercé ses forces avec un succès plus ou moins contesté;[5] aurait-on, dis-je, soupçonné jamais qu'un tel monument, le plus grand et le plus beau de son genre, renfermât en lui-même les renseignemens les plus authentiques et les plus suffisants de son argument? Pourtant ces renseignemens existent, dans une condition appâlie, il est vrai, mais qui ne m'empêchera point d'appeler par leurs anciens noms inscrits presque sans exception, toutes les vingt-neuf figures du vase. Au surplus ces renseignemens existent dans une telle étendue, qu'outre les dénominations des figures representées, nous apprenons encore le nom de l'artiste à qui nous devons ce chef-d'œuvre de la poterie Campanienne. Une inscription tracée bien clairement sur la partie supérieure du vase en indique *Meidias* comme auteur.[6]

Les figures et les inscriptions les plus voisines au nom de cet artiste appartiennent au sujet principal, à celui qui occupe le col et la partie supérieure de

MM. Ed. Hawkins et Samuel Birch: c'etaient eux surtout qui ont facilité mes recherches durant mon séjour à Londres au mois de Juillet, 1839.

[4] D'Hancarville, l. c. II. 127-130.

[5] Visconti, Mus. Pio-Clem. l. II. p. 2. Zoëga, Bassiril. II. p. 90. Böttiger, Amalthea, l. II. p. 291, *sq*. Gerhard, Archemoros u. d. Hesperiden (Abh. d. Berlin. Akad. 1836), S. 47, *sq*.

[6] ΜΕΙΔΙΑΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ, *Μειδίας ἐποίησεν*.

notre vase. Personne ne peut méconnaître le sujet dont il s'agît en général dans cette scène, savoir, l'enlèvement de plusieurs jeunes femmes, dont l'une vient de suivre son époux, qui l'emmène dans son quadrige. En revanche, l'idole d'une déesse, placée au milieu de la scène, et la présence de plusieurs spectateurs, tant de femmes que d'un homme assis, sont les seules particularités, qui, dans cet ensemble de nombreuses figures si bien disposées, reclament notre attention, et nous engagent de méditer, quelle pourra être la course, parmi toutes celles qui sont caractérisées par l'introduction des femmes, et qui sont célébrées dans la mythologie héroique, que le peintre de notre vase a voulu perpétuer par son pinceau. Winckelmann[7] a répondu le premier à cette question. Son opinion est principalement basée sur la présence des femmes, qui figurent dans le tableau ; elle gagne de vraisemblance grâce à l'homme assis au coin gauche, qui tient un sceptre, et qui a toute l'apparence d'un souverain. L'historien de l'art ayant rejeté par des raisons valables les courses nuptiales d'Hippodamie et de Pénélope, qu'on pouvait supposer dans cette peinture, se décida à la fin d'y reconnaître Danaüs, roi d'Argos, et la course que ce roi avait proposée, selon Apollodore,[8] pour marier nouvellement ses filles après la mort funeste de leurs premiers époux. S'il faut rendre justice à cette opinion, on ne peut méconnaître qu'elle réponde convenablement à la totalité de la composition du tableau. Zoëga,[9] préférant substituer aux noces des Danaïdes l'enlèvement d'Hélène par Thésée, s'appuyait sur un groupe principal de notre monument ; mais il

[7] Winckelmann, l. c. III. 4, 36, *sq.*

[8] Apollodor. II. 1, 5. Cf. Pausan. III. 12, 2.

[9] Zoëga, Bassirilievi, II. p. 90.

n'aurait su répondre au reste de la composition. C'est pourquoi l'explication de Winckelmann fut presque généralement adoptée,[10] et certes, sans un témoignage aussi positif que celui que je viens d'acquérir, personne ne l'aurait abandonnée en faveur de la nouvelle, qui désormais nous doit être la seule admissible.

En effet, les inscriptions qui jettent une nouvelle lumière sur ce vase désignent ces deux hommes représentés dans la scène principale, ni comme ravisseurs des Danaïdes, ni comme ceux d'Hélène, mais bien clairement comme les deux fils de Jupiter et Léda. A côté des noms de Castor[11] et de Pollux[12] les deux femmes enlevées par les héros de Sparte sont appelées Eriphyle[13] et Eléra.[14] Le dernier nom se rapproche trop du nom vulgaire d'une des filles Messéniennes de Leucippus, Hiléaera, et l'enlèvement des Leucippides par les Dioscures jouit d'une trop grande célébrité dans l'ancienne mythologie, pour nous laisser le moindre doute, que cet enlèvement ne soit representé ici, malgré la circonstance, que la sœur d'Hiléaera, vulgairement connue sous le nom de Phœbé, soit signalée sur notre vase par un nom tout-à-fait différent. Une cinquième inscription nous autorise de donner le nom de Chrysippe[15] à l'écuyer, qui dans l'attente de Castor arrête le quadrige de son maître. On cherche en vain quelques autres figures et inscriptions relatives aux adversaires des Dioscures, vu que les témoignages et les monuments connus jusqu'à présent, concernant

[10] Voyez les passages susdits (not. 2, 5) de Millin, Dubois-Maisonneuve, Böttiger, Gerhard, etc.

[11] ΚΑΣΣΤΩΡ, *Κάστωρ*.

[12] ΠΟΛΥΔΕΥΚΤΗΣ, *Πολυδεύκτης*.

[13] ΕΡΙΦΥΛΗ, *Ἐριφύλη*. [14] ΕΛΕΡΑ, *Ἐλέρα*.

[15] ΧΡΥΣΙΠΠΟΣ, *Χρύσιππος*.

l'enlèvement des filles de Leucippus, attachaient tous la plus haute importance de ce sujet au combat, qui, à la suite de ce rapt, eut lieu entre les Tyndarides et les fils d'Apharée. Le peintre de notre vase avait préféré de représenter sans aucune intervention la passion des fils de Léda parfaitement d'accord avec leurs amantes, sans faire allusion à la fin funeste de ces aventures, amenée d'après Pindare[16] par le foudre de Zeus. Notre artiste aimait mieux sanctionner la scène de l'enlèvement par la présence du Dieu suprême, et des divinités protectrices de l'amour. La figure assise tenant un sceptre, et non pas un trident,[17] est distinguée par le nom de Zeus ;[18] et la déesse également assise, qu'on voit placée au milieu de la scène sur la base d'un autel, est signalée avec la même évidence par le nom d'Aphrodite.[19] Ce fait une fois constaté, on ne s'étonnera plus que les trois femmes, qui entourent la déesse, protectrice des amours, représentent les trois Grâces ; et en effet une femme distinguée par le nom d'une des Grâces, savoir par le nom de Peitho,[20] la Persuasion, précède les jeunes époux dans l'attitude d'une danseuse. Les noms de ses deux compagnes sont moins connus, mais tout aussi exacts pour caractériser les compagnes gracieuses de Vénus. L'une de ces femmes, qui déploye sa robe devant le père des dieux, porte le nom d'Agaué,[21] la Brillante ; l'autre, agenouillée devant Vénus, et occupée à arranger une couronne de myrtes, a un nom également expressif,

[16] Pindar. Nem. x. 71 (134).

[17] Erreur de Visconti (Pio-Clem. ii. 2), corrigée par Meyer (Winckelm. iii. p. 453), et Böttiger (Amalthea, ii. p. 292).

[18] ΙΕΥΣ, Ζεύς.

[19] ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ, Ἀφροδίτη.

[20] ΠΕΙΘΩ, Πειθώ.

[21] ΑΓΑΥΗ, Ἀγαύη.

celui de Chryseis.[22] Après cet ensemble de figures parfaitement expliquées par leurs légendes antiques, il nous reste une onzième, dont nous aimerions surtout savoir le nom propre. C'est l'idole de la déesse, qui domine cette scène, et qui d'après ses attributs pourra être considérée, ou comme Junon, ou comme Diane. Toutefois cette idole dépourvue d'une inscription, mais relative, comme nous l'avons appris, à la demeure des filles de Leucippe, roi de Messène, ne peut guère se rapporter à un autre culte Messénien, qu'à celui d'Artemis Laphrienne, mentionné par Pausanias.[23]

La composition de dix-huit figures, qui décorent la partie inférieure du même vase, a été divisée en trois tableaux dans le dessin publié par D'Hancarville.[24] Cette division est parfaitement juste. Zoëga,[25] quoiqu'il croyait avoir découvert dans la partie gauche de cette longue composition une scène en rapport avec l'enlèvement d'Hélène, supposé par lui-même dans le tableau principal,—Zoëga, dis-je, qui se flattait d'y reconnaître les Dioscures réunis avec d'autres guerriers avant la guerre qu'ils firent à Thésée, ne prétendait pas néanmoins de rallier à un tel ensemble mythologique les deux autres scènes voisines du même tableau, dont l'une doit être généralement rapportée à l'arbre des Hespérides, et l'autre paraissait représenter à Zoëga Cassandre prisonnière devant Agamemnon. Winckelmann au contraire avait déjà reconnu dans cette dernière scène Jason et Médée, et c'etait suivant les traces de la même explication que je m'étais cru autorisé

[22] ΧΡΥΣΕΙΣ, Χρυσηΐς.

[23] Pausan. IV. 31, 6. Des recherches ultérieures, que je viens de faire sur l'idole susdit, seront imprimées dans les Mémoires de l'Académie de Berlin, 1840.

[24] D'Hancarville, II. 128-130. [25] Zoëga, Bassirilievi, II. p. 90.

d'attribuer les trois tableaux unis de cette composition à l'ensemble de l'expédition des Argonautes; expédition, qui, d'après le récit d'Apollonius de Rhodes,[26] me paraissait offrir un rapport intime avec la fable des Hespérides.[27] Je dois cependant renoncer le premier, à l'espoir que j'avais eu d'expliquer les trois scènes qui nous occupent, par une suite d'évènements appartenant tous à la même fable. Les inscriptions nous autorisent bien de voir Hercule et les Hespérides dans la scène centrale, et de reconnaître Médée dans le tableau à droite: mais pour le tableau à gauche elles paraissent substituer des individus obscurs aux noms illustres de la fable, qu'on y avait soupçonnés.

Fixons d'abord notre attention sur la scène centrale, et sur les inscriptions qui viennent à notre secours pour l'expliquer. Dans la conviction que les trois femmes, placées au milieu de ce tableau autour du pommier sacré et du serpent, son gardien, ne pouvaient représenter que les Hespérides, ce qui nous frappe le plus ce sont les dénominations, non moins inconnues qu'expressives, qui désignent ces Nymphes. Nous lisons au-dessus d'elles les mots Lipara,[28] Chrysothemis,[29] Asicherthré,[30]—mots qui expriment l'abondance, le lustre, et la liberalité,[31] des divines filles d'Atlas. Her-

[26] Apoll. Rhod. iv. 1396, *sq.*

[27] Gerhard, Archemoros u. d. Hesperiden (Abh. d. Berlin. Akad. 1836), S. 48, *sq.*

[28] ΛΙΠΑΡΑ, *Λιπάρα.* [29] ΧΡΥΣΟΘΕΜΙΣ, *Χρυσόθεμις.*

[30] ΑΣΙΧΕΡΘΡΗ, *Ἀσιχέρθρη.* M. De Witte croit y avoir reconnu le nom ΑΣΣΤΕΡΟΠΗ, *Ἀστερόπη*, nom identique avec l'epithète *ἀστεροπός.*

[31] Si le nom *Ἀσιχέρθρη* est juste, il faut le dériver du mot *ἀσιχεὶρ, ἠσιχεὶρ*, cité en deux passages d'Hésychius avec les explications *δοτικὸς, δαψιλὴς*, sans être mentionné dans les dictionnaires modernes.

cule, qui attend les trois pommes de leurs mains, est assis à côté droit d'elles ; on ne pouvait se méprendre sur sa personne, même sans l'inscription du nom, qui est cependant bien lisible.[32] Il est accompagné d'Iolaus, dont le nom s'y trouve aussi ;[33] et un autre compagnon placé au coin opposé de la même scène, et marqué par le nom de Klytios,[34] nous rappelle le héros d'Œchalie de ce nom, qui, d'après le Scholiaste de Sophocle,[35] fut tué par Hercule, ou bien, d'après une autre tradition,[36] par Æétès. Faute d'autres détails pour expliquer la présence de ce guerrier, nous allons regarder la femme qui est assise vis-à-vis d'Hercule à côté du même guerrier. Son air majestueux, la stephané qui orne sa tête, et le sceptre qu'elle tient à la main, firent supposer à Zoëga,[37] qu'elle devait représenter Alcmène. J'avais pourtant proposé[38] une autre opinion, celle d'y voir Junon reconciliée avec Hercule à la fin de ses travaux. L'inscription de cette figure, quoique bien lisible, ne décide pas tout d'un coup les difficultés de son explication. Nous y lisons le nom d'Hygiéa.[39] Ce nom nous rappelle, il est vrai, la déesse de la santé, mais ce n'est pas la fille d'Esculape qu'on voudra faire intervenir ici. Il faudra plutôt se souvenir du culte de Minerve, qu'on adore dans plusieurs localités sous cette épithète,[40] pour comprendre que c'est la même déesse qui assiste ici, sans égide et peut-être sans armes,[41] et, comme dans

[32] ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ, Ἡρακλῆς.
[33] ΙΟΛΕΩΣ, Ἰόλεως.
[34] ΚΛΥΤΙΟΣ, Κλύτιος.
[35] Schol. Soph. Trachin. 263.
[36] Hygin. Fab. 14, p. 36.
[37] Zoëga, Bassiril. II. p. 90.
[38] Archemoros u. d. Hesper. (l. c.) p. 47.
[39] ΥΓΙΕΑ, Ὑγιέα ou Ὑγιεία.
[40] Pausan. I. 23, 61, 3.
[41] Ce qui est une lance dans mon dessin de ce vase, est un sceptre tout manifeste, d'après l'assurance de M. Birch.

d'autres peintures,[42] dans une attitude toute pacifique, aux derniers trophées terrestres de son protégé.

Médée, qu'on avait bien reconnue dans la femme habillée en costume Asiatique, qui est la figure principale dans la partie droite de notre composition, est indiquée par ce nom même dans l'inscription bien lisible,[43] que nous y venons de découvrir. De deux femmes de sa compagnie, l'une qui la suit s'appelle Niobé,[44] et celle qui la précède porte un nom semblable à celui que notre vase attribue à l'aimée de Pollux, Eléra.[45] Un jeune guerrier s'avance devant Médée vers un homme barbu et assis, qui porte le sceptre royal. L'inscription de ce dernier est très obscure; mais des caractères lisibles nous donnent la première et la dernière lettre du nom d'Æétès,[46] père de Médée, et seul personnage qu'on y peut supposer. Quant au jeune guerrier, qui se dirige vers lui et qui est saisi par Médée, on ne peut guère douter que ce ne soit son amant Jason. L'inscription ne contient pas son nom, mais elle en renferme le sens. La figure en question est appelée Philoctetès,[47] nom qu'on ne voudra appliquer ni au compagnon d'Hercule, ni à quelque autre héros moins connu de ce nom, mais qui nous semble désigner appellativement le fiancé d'une riche héritière,[48] nom très convenable au chef des Argonautes en place de son nom vulgaire. Cette manière de varier le nom propre par un titre explicatif, se rencontre plusieurs fois parmi les inscriptions

[42] Voyez mes Coupes Etrusques du Musée de Berlin, p. 12.

[43] ΜΗΔΕΑ, *Μηδέα* ou *Μηδεία*.

[44] ΝΙΟΠΗ, *Νιόπη* pour *Νιόβη*.

[45] ΕΛΕΡΑ, *Ἐλέρα*.

[46] Α . . . . Σ, *Αἰήτης*.

[47] ΦΙΛΟΚΤΗΤΗΣ, *Φιλοκτήτης*.

[48] *Φιλοκτήτης* c. a. d. *ὁ φιλῶν τὰ κτέατα*.

des vases peints. La Minerve Hygiéa, que nous venons de citer, nous en a fourni déjà un exemple.

Il est évident que les trois sujets, que nous venons de considérer, accusent des rapports incontestables avec les idées d'amour et de mariage. L'enlèvement des Leucippides, et la demande de Jason par Médée nous manifestent ce rapport au premier coup-d'œil, et quant à l'arbre des Hespérides nous n'ignorons pas non plus, que c'était un des sujets les plus expressifs, et les plus vulgaires, pour faire allusion aux bénéfices des noces.[49] Ces allusions se trouvent pareillement continuées dans le quatrième tableau de notre vase, celui qui se trouve à côté gauche de la scène centrale du rang inférieur. Nous ne devons pas être surpris de ce que ces allusions ne soient pas rendues par un sujet de la fable, mais à l'aide d'individus moins illustres, qui peut-être se prêtaient plus facilement au but éventuel de notre vase. La jeune femme, que nous y voyons placée sur un siège élevé, est appelée Chrysis,[50] nom qui indique sa richesse, et une raison de plus pour lui offrir des hommages. Deux jeunes guerriers s'approchent d'elle causant entre eux ; peut-être c'est le fiancé de la jeune femme introduit chez elle par un paranymphe. Ils portent les noms d'Œneus [51] et de Démophon.[52] Un autre groupe de trois jeunes gens occupe la partie gauche du même tableau : ce sont deux jeunes guerriers dans une conversation assez vive avec un troisième éphèbe, qu'on peut considérer comme le rival de Démophon. Les noms de ces trois

[49] Voyez mon Mémoire susdit (not. 5) : 'Archemoros und die Hesperiden,' p. 67, *sq.*

[50] ΧΡΥΣΙΣ, Χρυσίς.

[51] ΟΙΝΕΥΣ, Οἰνεύς.

[52] ΔΗΜΟΦΩΝ, Δημοφῶν.

personnages, savoir Hippokoon,[53] Antiochos,[54] Klymenos,[55] sont pour ainsi dire étrangers à la fable héroique; et l'expression du tableau entier, dépourvu de toute sorte d'attributs, donne lieu à croire, qu'il n'est ici question que d'une réunion de jeunes Grecs contemporains à l'exécution du monument qui les représente. Après trois tableaux bien expressifs de rapport mythologique, le sujet moins illustre du quatrième se rendait peut-être plus applicable aux circonstances particulières auxquelles Meidias avait dédié son ouvrage, dans la qualité d'un magnifique cadeau de mariage.

[53] ΙΠΠΟ . . ΩΝ c. a. d. Ἱππο̃κόων.
[54] ΑΝ . . . Χ . ., Ἀντίοχος. [55] ΚΛΥΜΕΝΟΣ, Κλύμενος.

E. Gerhard.

Berlin.

XXV.—OBSERVATIONS UPON THE HIERATICAL CANON OF EGYPTIAN KINGS AT TURIN.

BY S. BIRCH, ESQ.

(Read Nov. 25, 1841.)

In laying before the Society my copy and analysis of the Hieratical Canon of Turin, I am well aware both of the defects of the document in its present state and the feeble light which I am enabled to throw upon it. At the same time, the cherished hope that the keepers of the Egyptian collection of that city would have published it in a correcter form has not been realized, and I therefore hasten to give a copy of this celebrated document, frequently alluded to, but, I may add, seldom seen by the investigators of archæology.

The copy from which mine is facsimiled was one made by M. Edouard Dulaurier from another of M. Seyffarth, who was encharged with the restoration of this mutilated document; and the former gentleman with great liberality allowed me to make any use of it I thought fit, and on the occasion of his second visit to England communicated to me the variations collated by him in another copy among the papers of M. Champollion le jeune, now in the Bibliothèque du Roi. These are indicated upon my tracings in pencil. During the visit of Dr. Lepsius in the year 1839, I communicated the copy before the Society to him, and

while it agreed in many respects with his, the first page did not exist in the Turin Museum at the time his facsimile was made. M. Rosellini, with a diffidence very natural on an inspection of this papyrus, has not made use of it in his Monumenti Storici; but, although there is not only evidence that the restoration may be, but actually is, erroneous in many places, yet as several royal names are found in it which are wanting elsewhere, and since enough remains to show its general purport and arrangement, the publication of this papyrus would perhaps allow at a future period of a restoration of it, more happy in many respects than that of M. Seyffarth. It was found, broken into very small pieces, among a box of the papyri of the Drovetti collection, and the extreme smallness of the fragments renders the mere mechanical adaptation of the pieces very problematical.[1]

The copy contains 329 lines, subtracting from which the 13 leading introductory lines and the summations, lines 20, 21, 76, 91, 92, 94, 112, 120, 131, 228, 232, 260, 268, 279, 289, 296, there remain places for 300 kings, the majority of whose names are unfortunately wanting. This very nearly coincides with the 330 kings mentioned by Herodotus[2] as existing between Menes and Sesostris, or still nearer to the 314 kings of Manetho, excepting the dynasty of Xois. But from the 300 kings of the Canon at Turin are to be subtracted several names of gods and demigods which appear, as well as others which do not, so that its identity in point of number with the earlier lists

[1] Rosellini, Hippol. Mon. Stor. Part I. tom. I. I have since been informed Dr. Lepsius is on the eve of publishing one.

[2] Euterpe, s. 100. Cf. Origny, Chron. des Rois des Egyptiens, vol. ii. p. 42, Eratosthenes, and Africanus.

is not correct as it at present exists. The general manner in which the papyrus was arranged appears to be as follows: there was an introduction, containing a general chronological summary, calculated by years and generations, then the list of the mythic reign of the gods and demigods, followed by the different dynasties, each dynasty being closed by a summation of the number of kings of the line and the years they reigned. The earliest name found in the list is that of the deity Seb; the latest[3] appears to be that of a monarch of the eighteenth line, apparently Rameses the Great. It appears from the list of Manetho in the old Chronicle, that the reigns of mortals were supposed to be preceded by the mythic ones of certain deities, seventeen in number, viz.: 1, Hephaistos (Phtah); 2, the Sun (Phre or Ra); 3, the Agathodæmon (Har-Hat); 4, Saturn or Chronos (Seb); 5, 6, Osiris and Isis; 7, a blank; 8, Typhon. Of these are found in the list, Seb, line 13; Osiris or Isis, line 14; Horus, perhaps the Har of Hat, line 16; and Seth or Typhon, line 15. The eight gods were followed by nine demigods:[4] 1, Horus; 2, Mars (Onouris, or another form of Horus); 3, Anubis; 4, Hercules (Chons or Horus); 5, Apollo (Horus); 6, Ammon; 7, Tithoes; 8, Horus; 9, Jupiter (Noum). Of this rank are found in the Canon, two Horus', lines 19-22; Thoth, line 17; Thmei, or the two Truths, lines 18, 36, 37; the Totonen gods, line 43; and the deity Tot or Tattou (?), line 74. This completes the list of that part of the Canon relative to the names of deities, attached to whom is the duration of their reign, but

[3] Lines 304-308.

[4] Cf. Champollion, Gram. Egyp. p. 141, who has given some of these names.

few or none have the ciphers perfect; the only one given as complete being the god Thoth, and the duration of his reign, placed at line 3, 126 years. Since the deities ought in some order to have followed immediately after the introduction, it will be seen from this portion alone that the restoration which has placed them after Menes must necessarily be wrong.

In the 10th and 11th lines[5] of the introduction occurs the name of the founder of the Egyptian monarchy, Menes, written in the same manner as at the Ramesseium, and from the repetition of this name there is every reason to suppose that the introduction contained a summary of the chronology from Menes to the epoch at which the list ended. This name is followed, line 13, by that of the King Athoth,[6] a restoration very problematical; and to pass from these two names to those already known, in line 118 occurs the prænomen of Amenophis III., or Memnon (?), of the eighteenth dynasty; in line 140, the prænomen of Amenemhe I.; line 200, that of the unplaced king, Re-stor-en or Storenre, represented on a pylone at Mount Birkel; line 133, that of a monarch new to the chronological series, but since found on a scarabæus from the Anastasi collection, B. M.; in line 75, a variation of the unplaced monarch Ouonas (Rosellini, Mon. Stor., tom. II. tav. xv. App. No. 12), but communicated to me in the very form it occurs in the papyrus, from a vase in the possession of Dr. Abbot at Cairo, by Mr. G. R. Gliddon; in line 129, the prænomen of the King Amenemhe III., last monarch but one of the seventeenth dynasty; the kings Re mere ka

[5] Cf. also line 93.

[6] This name had 'Athoth' written against it in pencil in M. Dulaurier's copy from M. Champollion.

(Mercheres), line 174; Re mere Nofre, line 158; Re meri tor, line 173; Re sonkh heth, line 138; Re samen ka, line 139; Har men ka, line 73; Re shaa ophth, line 154; Re shaa taou, line 186; a cartouch containing the prænomen of a second Re shaa taouo or Shaa taou-re, with his name Thothophth (?), line 153; the prænomen, Men ka re Mencheres, with the name Thothophth (?), line 152; Re shaa Nofre or Shaa-nofre re, with the name Thothophth (?), line 155; and another monarch, Re-shaa - - -, with the name Nofreothph or Nepherophes, line 153; and, in line 86, is the name of the queen Neith-akhor (?) or Nitocris (?); and a dynasty entirely new to hieroglyphical literature, bearing, as a prominent portion of their names, the word ϫⲟⲩϥⲓ, or Kufi. Of these are the kings

1. Re skuf, line 146.
2. Re neb kufi, line 191.
3. Re mere kufi, line 189.
4. Shie kufi, line 33.

The last of these names is apparently erroneously restored, because it is probable that the expression 'Shie-altar,' which precedes, has formed the objective case of some function of the Sun. Thus we find on Stele Anastasi, no ⲥϫⲩϥⲓ ϣⲓⲏ ⲥⲛ̄ 'thurify their altars,' from which the ϣⲓⲏ of line 33 may have formed the complement of the mutilated name, line 146. Among the other names of this list which present an apparent degree of truth are the monarchs

Re nahsi, line 185. Re mam ka, line 142.
Re s'hbai, line 188. Re men siou, line 220.
Re - - - oubn, line 180. Re - - n, line 192.
- - - - - sotep en re, lines 304-308.

Of these names, which complete the list of those the least mutilated, and wearing a certain air of probability, the most remarkable are the first two: the term ⲛⲁϩⲥⲓ meaning, in Coptic, 'insurgent or revolter,' is applied in the hieroglyphics more especially to the

black or negro races, and the bird with which it commences is often depicted black;[7] the word NⲚϢCI has been consequently conjectured to mean, in the more ancient language, negro; and the name, line 185, consequently implies the *Ethiopian*, or *Negro Sun;* the following name, line 188, Re s'hbai, means the *Sun making panegyries*, and is, like the former, apparently an integral name: the succeeding name, line 180, implies the Sun - - - light; that of line 220, Re men sou, the *Sun establishing the stars;* the name, line 192, Pe-ten, or tôn (TǸ), the Sun - - - - Re m - - ka; line 142, and lines 304-308 contain the end of a cartouch apparently similar to the termination of the name of the king Rameses III., or some monarch of that line. I had appended to the present Paper a list of the perfect kings, and the transcription of their hieratic names into hieroglyphic, and a translation, as far as practicable, of the whole document; but the indifference of the copy as to style, the mutilated state of it, and the faulty condition of the restoration, prohibit more than a bare description of the reading of the cartouches. I have also been unable to give the exact places where the minute fragments have been recomposed. However, while all these circumstances combine to render defective this papyrus an historical evidence *per se*, it is possible that it may be one of the books out of which the priests read their succession to Herodotus, and a list exactly similar in general purport to that of Manetho, viz., the succession, with the years, days, months of the individual reign, and of the whole dynasty. Like the tablet of Abydos, it seems to have been chiefly composed of prænomens.

[7] This name Nahsi is, I suspect, to be found in the *Nas*-amones of Herodotus. Cf. also Lenormant Ch. Cours d'Histoire ancienne, 8vo. p. 325. Par. 1838.

XXVI.—REPORT TO THE CHANCELLOR AND COUNCIL OF THE DUCHY OF LANCASTER ON THE SUBJECT OF THE TREASURE RECENTLY FOUND AT CUERDALE.

(Read Feb. 24, 1842.)

On the 15th day of May, 1840, this treasure was discovered by one of several labourers who were engaged in repairing the south bank of the river Ribble, on the estate of William Assheton, Esq., of Downham Hall, called Cuerdale, near Preston in Lancashire. The action of the tide having partially undermined that bank, a wall had been built to protect it from the further incursions of the water; and in order to make good the ground behind this wall, a quantity of earth was brought from a ridge about forty yards inland, from which the ground had in the course of years been from time to time gradually sloped down to the river. In procuring the earth, the labourer referred to was first surprised by finding some pieces of corroded metal: he had been cutting with his spade horizontally under the brow of the ridge at the spot described, and on letting down the upper part, and throwing it into a wheelbarrow, these pieces of metal were observed by him; and his spade afterwards struck a quantity of loose silver coins, some of which he

then found had been already thrown by him into the wheelbarrow with the soil.

The man immediately proclaimed the discovery to his companions, who were at a short distance, and upon examination there were found a great quantity of coins, numerous bars or ingots of silver of various sizes, several silver ornaments having the appearance of armlets and rings, some broken articles of silver, and more of the same sort of corroded metal, as before mentioned, and which may be supposed to have been part of a box or the lining of a box that had contained the treasure. The men proceeded to fill their pockets with the coins, but on the arrival of Jonathan Richardson (Mr. Assheton's hind), he made them give up all they had taken, except one piece each, which he allowed them to retain; and the whole of the remainder of the treasure having been brought together, was carried to the house upon the estate, named Cuerdale Hall, from whence it was on the next day conveyed and deposited with the bankers of Mr. Assheton in Preston, to await his instructions, he then being at Florence.

In endeavouring to form some conjecture as to the period when this treasure was probably concealed, and the circumstances under which it was deposited, we must mainly depend upon the aid afforded us by the valuable collection of coins which form so considerable a portion of the hoard. These consist of three distinct characters or classes, viz., Oriental, Anglo-Saxon, and Continental.

Of the Oriental, which are assumed to be of the denomination of Cufic or Arabic coins, it may suffice to observe (without the knowledge and experience requisite to render any more detailed remarks upon

them either useful or interesting), that they appear to resemble many of those published by Adler in his "Collectio nova nummorum Cuficorum seu Arabicorum veterum," and seem not to be of a later date than the coins of the two other classes.

The Anglo-Saxon coins present only one specimen (and that in two pieces) of any sole monarch anterior to the accession of Alfred the Great, being apparently a penny of that monarch's elder brother, Athelred I., who reigned from A. D. 866 to 871.

Of the coins of Alfred, who ascended the throne in 871 and died in 901, there are many fine specimens of types, of which probably there exist no other instances in any collection. His style on the obverse is either simply 'Alfred Rex' or 'Alfred Rex Saxonum,' with a portrait of the monarch in the centre; the reverse has generally the moneyer's name, and sometimes a monogram of the city, or the name of the place where the money was struck: of this character are those coined at London, Canterbury, and Oxford. One of Alfred's pennies, coined at Oxford, is preserved in the Bodleian Library, and has been hitherto esteemed for its rarity.—There are also twelve silver half-pennies of Alfred, which exhibit various types: no specimens of his coins of this value, though such were strongly and with great reason believed to exist, had heretofore been discovered.

Of the coins of Athelstan the Dane, who was raised to the throne of East Anglia in A. D. 878, there are twenty-two of various types; they bear on the obverse the legend E.D.ELTAN REX, and the moneyer's name on the reverse, and are very different from the coins usually attributed to Athelstan, the son of Edward the Elder.

The coins of Edward the Elder are not numerous, but they are generally in good preservation; some of them bear the portrait, others simply the king's style and title on the obverse, and the moneyer's name on the reverse; and there is one half-penny, which coin is very rare.

There is one specimen only of the coin of Ceolnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury, who presided over that see from 832 until 871 or 872, and it bears on the obverse the Archbishop's portrait. Specimens of this prelate's coins are more common in other collections than are the coins of Archbishop Plegmund, which, in this collection, are numerous, and furnish some types rarely, if ever, met with elsewhere. There are two coins which bear on the obverse the legend 'Sitric Comes,' and on the reverse 'Gundi (Sceldfor) Bertus:' this may probably be Sitrig or Sihtric, King of Northumbria, who married a daughter of Edward the Elder, and died in the year 926, though the inferior title of earl would, perhaps, seem to oppose such a supposition.

The most numerous, however, of the Anglo-Saxon coins, and perhaps in some respects (particularly as bearing upon the question of the time when this treasure was concealed) the most interesting, are those apparently produced from the mint of the Abbot of Bury St. Edmund's, which bear on the obverse the legend 'Sce Eadmund Rex,' varied in almost every possible mode by insertion, omission, and transposition of letters, and on the reverse the moneyer's name. That these coins were struck at the Abbatial rather than at the Royal Mint, although they do not bear the abbot's name or any distinguishing mark (unless the A in the centre on the obverse may be

presumed to be such), seems to admit of little doubt. Ruding conjectures that they should be referred to some period subsequent to the grant, from Edward the Confessor, of a mint to the abbey, though probably at no great distance. If this conjecture hold, the theory that the treasure is not of less antiquity than the early part of the tenth century would be materially shaken; but if, on the other hand, the inference drawn from the character of the coins in each distinct class, pointing particularly to some period not very remote from the death of Edward the Elder, can be sustained, that theory will remain unaffected, and a much earlier date, though still manifestly (from the type of St. Edmund which appears on the obverse of this money) subsequent to the martyrdom of Edmund, ought to be assigned to the coinage. It may be objected, that there is no evidence that the abbot enjoyed the privilege of coining money previously to the grant from Edward the Confessor; but it does not necessarily follow that some early grant may not have been made, though not referred to in the Confessor's charter. The monastery, originally called Beadarichesworth, was founded by Sigiberht, King of East Anglia, who abdicated his throne, and became a monk there, A. D. 634; and on its being made the depository of the remains of King Edmund, who reigned over the kingdom of East Anglia from 854 until his death in 870, the name of the place was changed to Eadmunsburh.

If the probability be conceded of the abbot having enjoyed the privilege previously, and that the grant of the Confessor was only a confirmation of a pre-existing right, and further, if the interpretation given by Selden in his notes upon the historian Eadmer (p. 217),

that the law of Athelstan forbade coining of any money which did not bear the name or effigies of the king, be admitted, the antiquity of the money bearing the title of St. Edmund will be increased by more than a century above that usually assigned to it.[1]

It may, indeed, almost with confidence be inferred, that coins of Edmund the Martyr were struck prior to the year 928; and the fact cannot therefore, as Dr. Pegge conceived, be considered any exception to the law of Athelstan passed in that year.

The circumstance of no money of any sovereign subsequent to the time of Edward the Elder being found among the coins, certainly affords a strong presumption that the concealment of the whole treasure must have been early in the reign of his son and successor Athelstan.

The continental coins present specimens of the coinage of the emperors Charlemagne, Louis le Débonnaire, and Louis the son of Lothaire. Upon the authority of Le Blanc, who has engraved some silver pennies of Charlemagne much resembling those in this collection, the coins bearing 'Carlus. Imp. Aug.' on the obverse, and the names of the cities where they were struck, viz., Toulouse, Bourges, and Nevers, on the reverse, are assigned to that emperor.

It must, however, be remarked, that as Charles le

[1] In the account of Coins and Treasure found in Cuerdale, by Edward Hawkins, Esq., F. R. S., read before the Numismatic Society, Nov. 25 and Dec. 23, 1841, the question of the date of these coins is set at rest. Mr. Hawkins remarks at page 37, "The discovery of about 1800 coins, mixed with a large number of those of Alfred, would be strong presumptive evidence that they were contemporary, but the fact is proved by four coins which are found in this hoard, bearing on one side the name of Alfred, and on the other that of Eadmund, with his saintly title."

Chauve, who succeeded his nephew Louis II. in the empire A. D. 875, and Charles le Gros, who obtained the imperial crown upon the death of Louis le Bègue A. D. 879, both used the title of Emperor on their coins, it is extremely difficult to distinguish the money of those princes, and that possibly better reasons may be assigned by an experienced numismatist for attributing the specimens selected to either of the two latter emperors, than to the restorer of the Western Empire.

Le Blanc states that the silver penny of Charlemagne weighed 28 grains, and the same coin of Charles le Chauve nearly 32 grains: a similar difference is also observed in this collection between the coins of these two sovereigns. The title of 'Pius,' which appears on the coins of the Emperor Louis I., and the ancient name of the city of Strasbourg (Argentina Civitas) being retained, seems to warrant the preference given to Louis I. in assigning the coins so distinguished; although, with regard to some of the coins, whether they be of Louis I., or of his grandson the Emperor Louis II., cannot easily be determined: the legend 'Christiana Religio,' round the church or temple on the reverse of this money, has been thought to show the zeal of these princes for religion. The fragments of the coin which appears to read Ludovicus Imp. with the first two letters of Roma on either side a hand, on the obverse, and Benedictus, with the head between the letters S. P., for Sanctus Petrus, on the reverse, cannot be mistaken for any other money than that of Louis II., with whom Pope Benedict III. was contemporary. With respect to the pennies ascribed to Charles le Chauve, some of them may possibly have been hastily assigned to that sovereign in preference to Charles le Gros and Charles le Simple, who were

both also kings of France; but the reasons seemed to prevail in favour of Charles le Chauve. The question whether any money was coined by Charles le Chauve conformably to the edict of Pistes (Kal. Jul. 864), or whether some error does not exist in the transcripts of that part of the ordinance which regulates that the pennies should be marked with the legend of the king's name at length around and on the same side with the monogram, and the name of the place where the money was struck on the side of the cross, is not determined. Le Blanc had only seen three coins which answered to the direction in the ordinance, none of which, however, were struck at any of the places to which the coining of money was limited by the same edict.

In this collection are three specimens of a penny struck at Limoges, which correspond with the ordinance as regards the relative positions of the cross and monogram, with the king's name and the name of the city; but Limoges is not named in the edict, and the title 'Carlus Rex (R)', probably for FR., presents a difficulty. Those struck at Beauvais, Claremont, and Mesle, with the titles 'Carlus Rex,' 'Rex fr.,' and 'Rex fran.,' are similar to those described by Le Blanc, but which M. Petau thinks belong rather to Charles the Simple. They may, however, have been struck during the fourteen years that Charles le Chauve reigned as King of France before the edict of Pistes. Those pennies with the legend 'Grātia Dei Rex' round the monogram on the obverse, and the name of the city where they were struck on the reverse, are common. There are some towns, however, which occur on the coins in this collection, the names of which are not noticed by Le Blanc. Whether

any of the money of this character ought to be given, in preference, to Charles le Gros, or even to Charles le Simple, may better be determined by a skilful numismatist. The pennies which are here attributed to Louis le Bègue, and have the legend 'Christiana Religio' round the temple, are assigned to him, because it is well known that, although he was Emperor as well as King of France, he used the title of King only. Those with the legend 'Misericordia Dei Rex' round the monogram of Ludovicus, struck at the city of Tours, appear likewise to belong to Louis le Bègue rather than to his son Louis III. The monogram on the coins in this collection, of Carloman, brother of Louis III., struck at Limoges, seems to differ from that figured in the work of Le Blanc, as found on the money of this reign coined at St. Médard. On the death of Carloman in 884, the Emperor Charles le Gros obtained possession of the crown of France, to the prejudice of Charles le Simple, posthumous son of Louis le Bègue. Upon the demise of Charles le Gros, in 888, Odo, or Eudes, son of Robert le Fort, was chosen King of France: he died 898. Le Blanc remarks that only three pennies of this prince remain; two coined at Angers, and one at Blois. In this collection appear other varieties, and among them three pennies struck at Toulouse, with the monogram of Odo in the centre, and the title 'Oddo Rex fr.' on the obverse; also seven half-pennies struck at Limoges; two pennies, with the legend 'Misericordia Dei,' and the monogram of Oddo Rex in the centre, struck at Blois: there are others coined at Tours, Angers, Limoges, the palace of Compiègne, and the city of Lyons. The disputes, and partition of the States, on the death of Charles le Gros, extended also to the empire of

the west and the kingdom of Italy. Guy, or Guido, son of Guido, Duke of Espolette, with whom Berenger, King of Italy, disputed the succession, styled himself Emperor. There is a single coin which appears to belong to the former, with the legend 'Widettus Imp.' on the obverse,[2] 'Christiana Religio' on the reverse. Berenger, King of Italy, died 924: of this prince there are thirteen coins, all with the legend 'Berengarius Rex' on the obverse, and 'Christiana Religio' on the reverse. The Emperor Lambert, son of Guido, was recognised emperor by Pope John IX. A. D. 902, and died 910. There are nine of his coins with the legend 'Lambertus Imperator' on the obverse, and 'Christiana Religio' on the reverse. Charles le Simple was crowned King of France on the 27th January, 893, but was not universally recognised until the death of Eudes in 898. The coins of the reign of this monarch, if the ascription be not a mistaken one, are very numerous in this collection. The legends round many of them are not clearly intelligible, and present very great varieties: on some may be distinguished the monogram of Charles, which has led to the supposition that the others which bear a great resemblance in the appearance and style of the coin, though without any mark or distinction to decide that they belong to this reign, ought to be referred to the same class. These coins, which, for the purpose of the arrangement now made of them (Nos. 246 to 311 in the list, and Nos. 1 to 66 in the tray), are consequently attributed to some period in, or just previous to, the reign of Charles le Simple, require some comment; they certainly ap-

[2] It has been suggested that the letters on the obverse of this coin should be read 'Lambertus.'

pear to be at least of French origin, but if upon examination the experienced numismatist should see reason to ascribe them to some other period of time, as well as to some other country than those here named, the interest attached to them will not be diminished.

The first coin in the list, with the legend 'Gratia Dei Rex,' and the monogram of Carlus on the obverse, and the name of the place where the penny was struck, 'Quento Vici' (Quentovic), on the reverse, can scarcely be supposed of any other country than France; but whether it be a penny of Charles le Simple or Charles le Gros is not so manifest. The import of the letters on the reverse of the second coin is very obscure. One of Alfred's coins, No. 7, bears a similar inscription on the reverse, but whether imitated from the French coin, or how otherwise to account for the similarity, remains to be determined. Many of those coins which read 'Ebraice Civitas' on the obverse, exhibit on their reverse the same letters, namely, VCRTEN; No. 282 reads 'Ebroicas Civitas' on the reverse, and 'Gratia Dei Rex,' with the monogram of Charles, on the obverse. If any of these coins should turn out to be in fact archiepiscopal coins of York, and merely imitations of the French coins, it is difficult to conceive what could be the object in adopting the monogram of a French monarch, unless we suppose that the device was copied by the person who fabricated the coins, without knowing its meaning. Some of the pennies known as St. Peter's pennies certainly present a similar monogram, and that figured in the last edition of Ruding, Plate XXX., No. 3, bearing, obverse, SCIETRN, reverse, EBRAICIT, and monogram K◇S (R, L) approximates very nearly to some of the coins in this

collection. No. 46 reads, obverse, EBRAICE CIVI, reverse CSIEFR EHIISE. These inscriptions appear in various other forms, and some of the pennies present the legend SIE: FRE: DVS REX.

Nos. 59 and 60 read, obverse, SIECERT REX,
reverse, D·NS DS◇REX.

No. 61 reads, obverse, SIECERT REX,
reverse, MIRABILIA FECIT.

The legends afford a strong presumption that some of the coins must have issued from an ecclesiastical mint. Many attempts have been made, but without success, to discover the meaning of the inscription SIEFREDVS REX: it is very difficult to say whether this be the name of any king or not.

Under the year 881, the French chronicles record the ravages committed by the Northmen in and near the city of Tongres, and other neighbouring places, by Godfroi and Sigfroi, two kings of the Northmen (Annal. Mettens., and Chron. Sigeberti Gemblac.). In 882, the Emperor Charles le Gros marched against the Northmen with a powerful army. To Godfroi, who received baptism, he accorded Fresia and the other dignities which Roric had held. He also gave to Sigfroi and to Vurmon several thousand pounds of gold and silver (ex Annal. Bertiniani). During twelve days in the year 882 the fortress of Aslocha was besieged, but the Emperor finding the difficulty of carrying the siege, had an interview with Sigfroi, king of the Northmen, and stood sponsor for him at baptism, he having embraced the profession of Christianity (Annal. Fuldens. et Chron. Hermanni contracti Monachi Augiens.). In the year 884, Sigfroi, who is described by the chronicler as "Sigifridus Danus Christianus Regique Fidelis qui nepos fuerat Heorici

Dani," was sent by Carloman, King of France, and the princes assembled in council at Compiègne, to make terms with his countrymen, which he at length effected (ex Annal. Vedastini). The same person, described as Sigifridus Rex Danorum, distinguished himself at the famous siege of Paris in February, 886, which city was then so ably defended against 40,000 Northmen by Goscelin, the bishop, and Count Eudes, afterwards King of France (Annal. Vedastini, and Chron. de Gest. Norm.).

The famous church of St. Médard was destroyed about this time by Sigifred, King of the Danes (Chron. de Gest. Norm.).

Towards the spring in the year 887, Sigifred, King of the Northmen, came again to Paris by the Seine, but returned to Fresia about autumn in the same year, and was there slain (Annal. Vedastini). Some chronicles mention the death of Sigifroid and Godifroid, two kings of the Danes, in a battle against the Emperor Arnoul, A.D. 891. (Chron. Hermanni contracti, —Annal. Fuldens. continuat.—Hist. Franc. abbrev. auctore Petro Bibliothec.) The period in which this chieftain flourished, A.D. 881-887, would accord very well with the time at which these coins may possibly have been struck, namely, about the close of the reign of Charles le Gros.

The pennies which bear the legend QVENTOVICI are deserving of notice: the skill of the geographer has been exercised in discovering the true situation of this place. It seems now to be agreed that it was some considerable sea-port not at present in existence, and that the various forms in which the word is found simply signify 'Quantiæ vicus:' its locality is therefore fixed near Quanche or Canche, opposite to Estaples,

where the monastery of St. Josse now stands. Its importance as a mint, in the time of the monarchs of France of the second race, is apparent from the words of the ordinance restricting the places of the coinage of money: "Ut in nullo alio loco moneta fiat nisi in palatio nostro et in Quentovico, quæ moneta ad Quentovicum ex antiqua consuetudine pertinet."

The freshness and perfect preservation, which nearly all the coins of this hoard present, lead almost inevitably to the conclusion, that they had not been much in circulation at the time that the treasure was concealed. There seems some reason to believe that amidst the troubles in which Charles was involved during the latter years of his reign, there was frequent intercourse between the two countries of France and England. Charles had, no doubt, secured the interest of the Anglo-Saxon monarch by the alliance which he had formed, A. D. 919, with Edgyfu, the daughter of Edward the Elder; and when, after various fortunes, the French king was at length captured by Herbert, Count de Champagne and Vermandois, in the month of June, 923, and imprisoned at Péronne, his wife, Edgyfu, fled from France with her infant son Louis, and was received back at her father's court. It is but reasonable to suppose that the French queen, and they who accompanied her, brought with them some stock of money, and such articles of value as they were able to collect in the emergency of flight; and it is even possible to conceive, that as the coin of a foreign prince would not be so readily available as the current coin of the kingdom, some one connected with her suite may have concealed this treasure, intending on some future occasion again to possess himself of it, and return with it to

his own country. The appearance of so large a proportion of Anglo-Saxon among the foreign coins would not, however, seem greatly to favour this conclusion, but may, nevertheless, be accounted for on the supposition that the treasure was not hidden until after a residence of a few years in the country had enabled the owner to acquire some wealth in money of the national currency. The death of Charles took place at Péronne, where he had remained a prisoner for some years, on the 7th of October, A. D. 929, but the restoration of his son Louis (as Louis IV., called d'Outremère) to the throne of France was not effected till the year 936. Edgyfu returned to France after her husband's death, and subsequently married the son of Herbert, Count of Vermandois, A. D. 951.

If the preceding conjecture be entitled to any consideration, it must also be granted that the owner of the buried treasure was prevented by death, or otherwise, from fulfilling his intention, and that thus the secret of the hiding-place became lost with him. Another very ingenious and probable suggestion, as to the time and circumstances of the concealment of this treasure, has been elsewhere made; namely, that some powerful but disaffected Northumbrian noble, on his way to join the forces of Olaf against Athelstan the Saxon monarch, had buried this treasure, with the design of regaining it in more peaceful times, but was prevented by meeting death in the famous battle fought at Brunanburgh, A. D. 938, where Athelstan was so signally victorious. In still another, though certainly less popular point of view, it might be contended that the whole treasure had once belonged to some person connected with a royal or other mint; and, indeed, the presence of such a mass of broken silver, together

with the bars or ingots apparently cast into shape for the convenience of coining, and the singular appearance of some small bits of coin and other metal, evidently escaped from the melting cruse, would seem at first sight to encourage some such notion, whilst at the same time the probability of such an explanation is considerably lessened by the difficulty of conceiving how so much wealth could have been lost sight of, even if temporarily concealed in the pressure and urgency of either civil dissension at home or hostile invasion from abroad, unless we presume that it had been buried entirely without the knowledge or privity of any other than the individual singly engaged in secreting it, and that with his life all clue to the hiding-place was destroyed. All that can be said, however, on this subject, must remain only matter of conjecture; and the true circumstances attending the deposit of the treasure will perhaps never be brought to light, unless by some happy accident not less singular than the discovery of the treasure itself.

As connected with the mode of commerce in the Anglo-Saxon times by means of nominal as well as coined or stamped money, it may be proper to say a few words on the subject of the ingots, or bars of silver, which also form an important part of the treasure. These bars are supposed to have been adjusted to a certain weight, for the purpose of paying large sums, where the use of the penny (the largest coin known in those times) would have been attended with inconvenience. Some of these pieces have been weighed, but there is not discovered that uniformity in weight which was to be expected: the largest pieces (of which there are sixteen in number) have been designated as the 'mark,' said to be a Danish compu-

tation, introduced in the time of Alfred; they average 164 pennyweights each. There are other smaller pieces which weigh respectively 88¼, 66, 50, 46, 16, 8, 4, 3, 2 pennyweights, or thereabouts. The 'mancus' is supposed to have been of the value of 30 pennies, or 6*s.* of 5*d.* to the 1*s.*; however, after the tenth century it was estimated at 4*d.* to the 1*s.* only. The 'thrimsa' is supposed to have been equal to 3 pennies, or ⅗ths of the 1*s.* of 5*d.* If all the silver bars in this collection have been, as it is said, adjusted to a weight for the purpose of payments in commerce, and not, as it would seem, for the purpose of being afterwards coined when required, there must have been a great many other denominations besides those above specified. The only known coins were the penny, the half-penny, the farthing, and the half-farthing.

Before the discovery of this hoard, there only existed a strong presumption that half-pennies were coined in the reign of Alfred: it remained for this collection to afford the first actual specimens of such a coin. The appearance of some coins in this collection, which seemed to have been divided into halves and fourths, favours the conjecture that such partition was designed for the convenience of supplying smaller change.

Duchy of Lancaster Office,
Oct. 3, 1840.

XXVII.—ON AN INSCRIPTION UPON SOME COINS OF HIPPONIUM.

BY JAMES MILLINGEN, ESQ.

(Read Jan. 28, 1841.)

AMONG the coins of Hipponium, a celebrated city in the territory of the Brettii, several have been published,[1] which, in addition to the name of the city, present an inscription supposed to be ΛΑΝΔΙΝΑ, a word utterly unknown in the Greek language, and of which no explanation has been attempted.

Barbarous terms being occasionally found on coins of Greek colonies, especially those of Magna Græcia, and as the same reading was constantly followed by numismatic authors in their descriptions of various collections, no thoughts of ascertaining the correctness of the reading appear to have been entertained.

Having recently, however, acquired a coin similar to those here mentioned, I immediately perceived that the legend, instead of *Landina*, was most distinctly ΠΑΝΔΙΝΑ, and having subsequently examined in different collections several coins of the same kind, found that those in good preservation constantly offered the

[1] Magnan. Britt. Num.; Avellino, Giornal Num.; Carelli Catalog.; Mionnet, Descrip. de Méd. Gr., &c.

same legend, *Pandina.* The types are: *Obverse*, laureated head of Apollo; *Reverse*, ΕΙΠΩΝΙΕΩΝ: female figure, standing, holding in one hand a staff, and in the other a whip: before her, ΠΑΝΔΙΝΑ and a star. 3 Æ.

In some of the descriptions previously published,[2] the figure on the reverse has been supposed to represent Minerva; an opinion extremely doubtful, probably occasioned by the indifferent state of preservation of the coins; and the head-dress, being indistinct, was mistaken for a helmet.

After this discovery, I had the good fortune to find a coin of Terina, which throws great light on the subject. Its types are: *Obverse*, ΠΑΝΔΙΝ: female head, elegantly attired; *Reverse*, female figure, seated on an altar or a square base, holding a dove: before her, the letters ΤΕΡ... This coin is perfectly similar to one published by Pellerin,[3] who, as the name of the city was wanting, classed it among the uncertain coins of Italy, whence he had received it. Subsequently it was attributed to Hipponium,[4] on account of the legend *Landina*, found on the coins of that city.

By the restoration of their true reading and origin, the coins in question acquire a new and very great interest; for although the word *Pandina* does not occur in any ancient author, it is incontestably of Greek origin, and its etymology may serve as a guide to its signification. Its occurrence on the coins of more than one city, shows that it was not of local use

[2] Magnan. Britt. Num.; Mionnet, Méd. Grecq. tom. i. p. 193, No. 884.

[3] Peuples et Villes, tom. i. Pl. X. Nos. 6 and 7.

[4] See above, Note 1.

the west and the kingdom of Italy. Guy, or Guido, son of Guido, Duke of Espolette, with whom Berenger, King of Italy, disputed the succession, styled himself Emperor. There is a single coin which appears to belong to the former, with the legend 'Widettus Imp.' on the obverse,[2] 'Christiana Religio' on the reverse. Berenger, King of Italy, died 924: of this prince there are thirteen coins, all with the legend 'Berengarius Rex' on the obverse, and 'Christiana Religio' on the reverse. The Emperor Lambert, son of Guido, was recognised emperor by Pope John IX. A. D. 902, and died 910. There are nine of his coins with the legend 'Lambertus Imperator' on the obverse, and 'Christiana Religio' on the reverse. Charles le Simple was crowned King of France on the 27th January, 893, but was not universally recognised until the death of Eudes in 898. The coins of the reign of this monarch, if the ascription be not a mistaken one, are very numerous in this collection. The legends round many of them are not clearly intelligible, and present very great varieties: on some may be distinguished the monogram of Charles, which has led to the supposition that the others which bear a great resemblance in the appearance and style of the coin, though without any mark or distinction to decide that they belong to this reign, ought to be referred to the same class. These coins, which, for the purpose of the arrangement now made of them (Nos. 246 to 311 in the list, and Nos. 1 to 66 in the tray), are consequently attributed to some period in, or just previous to, the reign of Charles le Simple, require some comment; they certainly ap-

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ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν· Πεσσινοῦντα ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν· Δαμασκὸν δὶς ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν· Βήρυτον ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν· Τύρον ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν· Καισάρειαν τὴν Στράτωνος ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν· Νέαν πόλιν τῆς Σαμαρίας ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν· Σκυθόπολιν ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν· Γάζαν ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν· Καισάρειαν Πανιάδα δὶς ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν· Ἱερόπολιν ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν· Ἀνάζαρβον ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν· Μοψουεστίαν ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν· Τρίπολιν τῆς Συρίας ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν· Φιλαδέλφειαν τῆς Ἀραβίας ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν· Ζεῦγμα πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν· Κίβυραν ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν.

XIII. B.

On the same pedestal as the former.

τειμήσαντα [ταῖς καλλίσταις]
καὶ μεγίσταις τ[ειμαῖς Μάρκου]
Αἴλιον Αὐρήλιον [Μένανδρον,]
ἀθλήσαντα ἐνδόξως, [πλει-]
στονείκην πανκράτιν, [παρά-]
δοξον ξυστάρχην, γ[ένους πρώ-]
του καὶ ἐνδόξου, πρῶ[τον καὶ μό-]
νον τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἀπ[ογό-]
ν[ω]ν γεν[ητ]ὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ νεική[σαντα]
ἱεροὺς καὶ ταλαντιαίους κ[αὶ]
τοὺς ἄλλους ἀγῶνας.

Νέαν πόλιν Σεβαστὰ, παίδων Κλαυδιανῶν πανκράτιν· Νέμεια παίδων πανκράτιν· Ἴσθμια ἀγενείων πανκράτιν· Ἔφεσον Βαλβίλληα ἀγενείων πανκράτιν· ἱερὰν Πέργαμον κοινὸν Ἀσίας ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν· Ἔφεσον Βαλβίλληα ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν· Σμύρναν κοινὸν Ἀσίας ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν· ἑβδόμῃ Παναθηναΐδι Παναθήναια ανδρῶν πανκράτιν· πρῶτον Ἀφροδεισιέων Νέμεια ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς Νέμεια ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν· ἱερὰν Ὀλύμπεια ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν· πρῶτον Ἀφροδεισιέων Πύθια ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν· Ῥώ[μ]ην Καπετώλεια Ὀλύμπεια ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν πρῶτον Ἀφροδεισιέων.

XIV.

Ἐπὶ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ἡψικλέους, [εἰ]σηγησαμένου Ἑρμᾶ τοῦ Ἀριστοκλέους τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου Μολοσσοῦ [Φι]λοκαίσαρος· ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ γνώμῃ στρατηγῶν καὶ Ἀρτεμιδώρου τοῦ Μύωνος Παπίωνος ἱερέως ὁσίας Σεβαστῆς Ἰουλίας, γραμματέως δήμου καὶ Περίτου τοῦ Διονυσίου, φύσει δὲ Ἀδράστου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ἄνδρωνος, φύσει δὲ Ἀττάλου Καλλίππου τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας στρατηγῶν. Ἐπεὶ Ἀριστοκλῆς Ἀρτεμιδώρου Μολοσσὸς ἐκτενεστάτας μὲν καὶ λαμπροτάτας φιλοδοξίας καὶ λειτουργίας ἐποιήσατο εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ὃν ἔζη χρόνον· τὸ δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα φιλότειμον ἐνδεικνύμενος καὶ προκρείνων παντὸς, οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς τῆς μεταλλαγῆς χρόνοις ἤλλαξεν τὸ φιλόπατρι βούλημα· ἔγραψεν δὲ διαθήκας, σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἷς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα ἀπέλιπεν, διατασσόμενος καὶ ἀργυρικὰς διαδόσεις τοῖς πολείταις καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκ τῶν προσόδων, ὧν ἀπέλιπεν, ἀγρῶν, εἰς τὸ, σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς, οἵ[ς] ἐφιλοδόξησεν ζῶν καὶ φιλοδοξεῖται διὰ τῶν κατασκευαζομένων ἐκ τοῦ βίου αὐτοῦ ἀναθημάτων, ἀειμνημονευτόν· καὶ ἐκ τούτων εἶναι τὸ φιλόπολι αὐτοῦ βούλημα· ἀναγκαῖον δέ ἐστιν ὡς ὅτι μάλιστα φιλι[άζ]εσθαι τὰς ἐν πᾶσι [δ]ιαταγὰς αὐτοῦ· διὸ δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τελεῖσθαι ἐπαναγκὲς ἀεὶ ὑφ' ὧν ἡ διαθήκη αὐτοῦ περιέχει τὰς ἀργυρικὰς διαδόσεις ἐν αἷς ὥρισεν προθεσμίαις τῆς μὲν ἀναγραφῆς γεινομένης τῶν κατακλ[η]θέντων ἐν ταῖς προθεσμίαις, τῶν δὲ διαδόσεων ἀεὶ τῇ ἐχομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολῆς ἀποδιδομένων· ἐὰν δέ τις τῶν ὀφειλόντων πράξαι τὸ ἀργύριον μὴ πράξῃ ἢ μὴ ποιήσηται τὴν διάδοσιν ὡς προγέγραπται, ἀποτεισάτω ἱερὰ Ἀφροδείτῃ δη[νάρια] τρισχείλια, ἃ καὶ πράσσεσθαι ἐπαναγκὲς ὑπὸ τοῦ βουλομένου τῶν πολειτῶν ἐπὶ τρίτῳ μέρει· ὁμοίως δὲ μηδενὶ ἐξέστω μήτε ἄρχοντι μήτε γραμματεῖ μήτε [δ]ημ[ότῃ μετ]άγειν εἰς ἕτερον τῶν δὲ δόσεων ἀργύριο[ν] μή[τ]ε μέρος, χωρεῖν δὲ αὐτὸ εἰς τὰς δόσεις καθὼς ἡ Μολοσσοῦ διαθήκη ἔχει· ἐὰν δέ τις

μεταγάγῃ ᾧτινι τρόπῳ, ἔνοχος ἔστω τοῖς ὡρισμέ[νοις δ]ιὰ τῆς Μολοσσοῦ διαθήκης προσ[γεγραμμέν]οις, ἅ ἐστιν δη-[νάρια] μ[ύρια]. Αἱ δὲ προθεσμίαι τῶν δόσεων· α' μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ ι'· β', Θηβαίων θερινῶν πρώτων θεωρίων η'· γ', μηνὸς Ὑπερβερεταίου ιθ'.

XV.

[Several lines wanting.]

-των καὶ ᾧ ἂν αὐτοῖς βουληθῇ ἡ διατάξηται κατὰ τὴν δεδομένην αὐτ[ῷ] συνχώρησιν ὑπὸ Μενάνδρου τοῦ Μενάνδρου τοῦ Τελεσφόρου τοῦ Πολέμωνος διὰ τοῦ χρεοφυλακίου, ἐν ᾗ σόρῳ κεκήδευται Φλαβία Ἀντωνία Ἀβασκαντεῖνα ἡ γενομένη γυνὴ αὐτοῦ· κηδευθήσεται δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀπολλώνιος, ἕτερος δὲ οὐδεὶς ἕξει ἐξουσίαν ἀν[οῖ]ξαι ἢ ἐνθάψαι τινὰ ἄλλον χωρὶς Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ προδηλουμένου· ἐπεὶ ὁ παρὰ ταῦτά τι ποιήσας ἢ ἐπιχειρήσας ἔστω ἀσεβὴς καὶ ἐπάρατος καὶ τυμβώρυχος καὶ προσαποτεισάτω εἰς τὸ ἱερώτατον ταμεῖον τοῦ κυρίου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος ἀργυρίου δηνάρια

ὧν τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἔστω τοῦ ἐκδικήσαντος. Τῆς ἐπιγραφ[ῆς ταύτης ἀπετέθη ἀντίγραφον, &c.

XVI.

Τὸ μνημεῖον καὶ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτὸ οἰκοδομημέν[ον πύργιον] οὗ ἐστιν ἡ κάθοδος ἔνπροσθεν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, ἐπὶ καθαρσίου κατεσκεύασαν Ἑρμογένης Μηνοδ[ώ]ρου τοῦ [Ἀρτεμι]δώρου τοῦ Δημητρίου καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ Ἑρμογένης καὶ τὰ τέκνα τὰ Ἑρμογένους ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐσομένων ἐκγόνοις καὶ διαδόχοις αὐτῶν, μηδενὸς ἔχοντος ἐξουσίαν μηδὲ κληρονόμων ἢ διαδόχων αὐτῶν ἐξαλλοτριῶσαι μήτε τὸ πύργιον μήτε τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὸ μνημεῖον μήτε πράσεως ὀνόματι μήτε συνχωρήσεως, ἐπεὶ ὁ ποιήσας τι ἐπὶ ἀπαλλοτριώσει ᾧ δήποτε τρόπῳ καὶ ὁ ἀναδεξάμενος ἔνοχος ἔσται ἀσεβείᾳ καὶ εἰσοίσει ἕκαστος αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ κυριακὸν δηνάρια μύρια, ὡς ἐκκατα-δικήσων· τὸ τρίτον ἔσται τοῦ ἐκδικήσαντος· τὸ ὑπεναντίως γενόμενον ἔσται ἄκυρον καὶ οὐδὲν ἧττον μὲν εἰ τὰ π[οιού]-

μενα εἰς τὰ καθωσιωμένα. Τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ταύτης ἀπετέθη τ[ὸ ἀν]τίτυπον εἰς τὸ χρεοφυλάκιον· ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἀττάλου Ἀδ[ρά]στου Νεικοτείμου ἥρως τὸ δεύτερον μηνὸς Δείου.

XVII.

Ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν Καλπού[ρ]νιον Παυλεῖνον καὶ Φλαβίαν Πυθοδωρίδα τοὺς στεφανηφόρου[ς.]

XVIII.

Ἡ σορὸς καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὸ μνημεῖόν εἰσιν Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ἀλύπου τοῦ Δε . . . . . ιος τρὶς τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου.

XIX.

Ἡ εἰσώστη ἐστὶν Μάρ[κου] Αὐρ[ηλίου] Ζήνωνος τοῦ Τούρβωνος το[ῦ] Τροφίμου, εἰς ἣν τέθαπται Μάρ[κος] Αὐρ[ήλιος] Εὔτυχος ὁ ἀναθρεψάμενος αὐτὸν, καὶ οὓς ἂν βουληθῇ ὁ Ζήνων· ἐὰν δέ τις ἐκθάψει τὸν Εὔτυχον ἢ ἕτερον ἐνθάψει χωρὶς τῆς γνώμης τοῦ Ζήνωνος, ἀποτείσει ὁ τοιοῦτό τι ποιήσας τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ ἀργυρίου δηνάρια χείλια, ὧν τὸ τρίτον ἔσται τοῦ ἐγδικήσαντος. Τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ἀπετέθη ἀντίγραφον εἰς τὸ Ἀφροδισιέων χρεοφυλάκιον· ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου τὸ πέμπτον Τίτου Φλαβίου [Χ]αιρέου μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ.

XX.

The three following inscriptions are on three adjoining compartments of the same monument.

A.

[The quantity wanting is uncertain.]

-ον κατανελλιπῶς πλεῖστα παρεσχη[μ]ένον τῇ πατρίδι φέρειν ἀνθρωπίνως τὴν συνβεβηκυῖαν συνφορὰν ἐπὶ τῷ τέκνῳ αὐτοῦ· δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τετειμῆσθαι μὲν Ζήνωνα Καλλίου τοῦ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Εὐ[δά]μου καὶ μετηλλακχότα ἀνατεθῆναι δ[ὲ] αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνδριάντας καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ εἰκόνας ἐν ἱεροῖς ἢ δημοσίοις τόποις ὑπὸ Καλλίου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ· παραμεμυθῆσθαι δὲ καὶ Ἀπφίαν Εὐδάμου τοῦ Μητροδώρου τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Ζήνωνος.

B.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

καὶ μετηλλακχότα καὶ στ[εφ]ανῶσθαι Καλλίαν υἱὸν Καλλίου τοῦ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Εὐδάμου, νεανίαν καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν τὴν ἀναστροφὴν πεποιημένον ἐν ἀρετῇ καὶ παντὸς ἐπαίνου ἀξίαν, ταῖς καλλίσταις καὶ μεγίσταις τειμαῖς, ἀνατεθῆναι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνδριάντας καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ εἰκόνας γραπτὰς ἐν ὅπλοις ἐπιχρύσοις ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ δημοσίοις τόποις, ἐφ' ὧν καὶ ἐπιγραφῆναι τὰς ἀξίας καὶ πρεπούσας καὶ ἀναλογούσας τῷ γένει καὶ τῇ [πρὸς] τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ ἀναστροφῇ τειμὰς, ἐπιγραφῆναι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μνημείου, ἐν ᾧ τέθαπται καὶ Ζήνων ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, τὰς ἀξίας ἐπιγραφὰς αὐτῷ· παραμεμυθῆσθαι δὲ Καλλίαν Ζήνωνος τοῦ Εὐδάμου καὶ Ἀπφίαν Εὐδάμου τοῦ Μητροδώρου τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ Εὔδαμον Καλλίου τοῦ Ζήνωνος τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ φέρειν ἀνθρωπίνως τὸ συνβεβηκὸς ἀτύχημα.

C.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

[με]τηλλακχότα· δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τετειμῆσθαι καὶ μετηλλακχότα Εὔδαμον Καλλίου τοῦ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Εὐδάμου νεανίαν καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν ζήσαντα κοσμίως καὶ σωφρόνως καὶ πρὸς ὑπόδειγμα ἀρετῆς ταῖς καλλίσταις καὶ μεγίσταις καὶ ἀξίαις τειμαῖς· ἀνατεθῆναι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνας γραπτὰς ἐν ὅπλοις ἐπιχρύσοις καὶ ἀνδριάντας καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ δημοσίοις τόποις, ἐφ' ὧν καὶ ἐπιγραφῆναι τὰς ἀξίας καὶ ἀναλογούσας τῷ γένει αὐτοῦ τειμὰς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μνημείου ἐν ᾧ κεκήδευται· [παρ]αμεμυθῆσθαι δὲ Καλλίαν Ζήνωνος τοῦ Εὐδάμου καὶ Ἀπφίαν Εὐδάμου υἱοῦ Μητροδώρου, τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτοῦ [φέρει]ν ἀνθρωπίνως τὰς συμβεβηκυ[ῖας συμφ]ορᾶς ἐπὶ τοῖς τέ[κνοις αὐτῶ]ν· τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα ἐπιδε[δογμένον μελη]σαμένου Μητροδώρου Διονυσιδό[του].

XXI.

[The quantity wanting is uncertain.]

From 20 to 25 letters wanting at the end of each line.

τῇ τοῦ ἀγῶνος χρείᾳ εὐτρεπίζειν καὶ δη
καὶ τὰ ἆθλα καὶ τὰ ἀγωνίσματα ἀκολούθως
-νοθέτης, εἰ δὲ τὸν πρῶτον ἀγῶνα Φλάβιος Εὐ
τῶν δὲ ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν Καλλικράτους τοῦ Διοτείμου
-όντος ἔτους περὶ μῆνα ἕκτον πρὸ τῆς εἰς Ῥώμην
-τος ὁ ἀγὼν τὰ ἆθλα διαγεγραμμένα ἐν τῇ τοῦ κ
μυρίων δισχειλίων ἑξακοσίων προνοουμένω[ν

About 16 letters wanting at the end of each line.

-κας ἐνγεγραμμένων τοῦ τε ἱερέως τῆς Ἀφροδίτη[ς
ὑπὲρ τούτου τῇ συνόδῳ ἐπιστέλλειν ἤδη καὶ κα[τ]ὰ
ἀγῶνα ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ μεγίστου αὐτοκράτορος Κομμό[δου
καὶ εἰς αἰῶνα διαμονῆς ἐπιτελεσθησόμενον τῇ ὡρισμ[ένῃ
-ον δὲ Κλαυδίου Ἀδράστου ἀγῶνα ὡς διατέτακται χ
-ρὶ αὐτὸν γινομένης ἢ ὀλιγωρίας ἢ ἐνδείας ἐπιμ
ἐν τῷ ἐνεστῶτι μηνὶ ἐνάτῳ διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς
Ἡράκλειαν, ἀεὶ δὲ ἐκ περιόδου οὕτως ὡς ἡ σιω
δὲ πολειτικὸς ἀγὼν ἔχει τὸν ἴδιον καιρὸν μετὰ τοῦ
-αγραφὴν πεποιήμεθα τῶν ἄθλων καὶ πρότερον ο
συντεταγμένους
Ἰουλιανοῦ ἀγὼν ὁ μετὰ τὸν
-θεσμίαν ἔχων καὶ διαγραφὴν ἐν ταῖς διαθήκα[ις
ὃν δὲ χρόνον ἕξει μὲ[ν] τὰ Νικηράτεια ἐν Τρά[λλεσι
ος τετράκι Τατιανοῦ ἀγὼν οὐδέπω τῶν χρημάτ[ων
δ]έκα μυριάδας προεληλυθότων ἐπιτελεσθ[ομένων
π]αλαιὸν συνελθῇ ὡς τοκοφορεῖν λοιπ
ᾶσθαι τῆς ψήφου ὑμεῖν εὐθὺς δηλωθήσεται
τρα]γῳδῶν μόνων τραγῳδῷ πρωτείου δηνάρια χίλια
πεντακόσια
οὐ Ἀδράστου δευτερείου δην. ἑξακόσια
τριτείου δην. τριακόσια πεντήκοντα.

XXII.[4]

Ἀγῶνος πελαστικοῦ Φλαβίου Λυσιμάχου πενταετηρικοῦ μουσικοῦ μόνου[5] θέματα τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα.

Σαλπιστῇ δηνάρια πεντακόσια

Κήρυκι δην. πεντακόσια

Ἐνεκωμιογράφῳ δην. ἑκατακόσια πεντήκοντα

Ποιητῇ δην. ἑκατακόσια πεντήκοντα

Πυθαύλῃ δην. χίλια

δευτερείου δην. τριακόσια πεντήκοντα

Ψιλοκιθαρεῖ δην. χίλια

δευτερείου δην. τριακόσια πεντήκοντα

Παιδὶ κιθαρῳδῷ δην. τριακόσια πεντήκοντα

δευτερείου δην. διακόσια πεντήκοντα

Χοραύλῃ δην. χίλια πεντακόσια

δευτερείου δην. πεντακόσια

Χορῷ τραγικῷ δην. πεντακόσια

Χορῷ κιθαρεῖ δην. χίλια πεντακόσια

δευτερείου δην. πεντακόσια

Κωμῳδῷ δην. χίλια πεντακόσια

δευτερείου δην. ὀκτακόσια

τριτείου δην. τετρακόσια

Τραγῳδῷ δην. δισχίλια πεντακόσια

δευτερείου δην. ὀκτακόσια

τριτείου δην. τεσσαρακόσια

[4] Numbered 2759 in the Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum, but here repeated, as being from a transcript more complete than that to which Professor Boeckh had access.

[5] The word μόνου is explained by No. 2741 of the Corpus Inscript. Græcarum, from which it appears that the Lysimachian games consisted at their commencement of a *music* exhibition only: it was intended probably that *gymnic* contests should be added when the money bequeathed by Flavius Lysimachus had accumulated to a sufficient sum. See Antiquities of Ionia, Part III. page 56, published by the Society of Dilettanti, London, 1840.

Κοινῇ κωμῳδῶν δην. διακόσια
Κοινῇ τραγικῶν δην. διακόσια
Καινῇ κωμῳδίᾳ δην. πεντακόσια
Ἀρχαίᾳ κωμῳδίᾳ δην. τριακόσια πεντήκοντα
δευτέρειον δην. ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα
Καινῇ τραγῳδίᾳ δην. ἑπτακόσια πεντήκοντα
Πυῤῥιχῇ δην. χίλια
δευτέρειον δην. τριακόσια πεντήκοντα
Ἀνδρ[ὶ κι]θαρῳδῷ
δευτέρειον

AT NAZLI.

I.

[Τῇ] γλυκυτάτῃ πατρίδ[ι Μ]άρ[κος] Αὐρ[ήλιος] Ἀνδρέας σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ Κλ[αυδίᾳ] Θεοδώρᾳ καὶ τοῖς παισὶν Ἰουλιανῷ Ἀνδρέᾳ Θεοδώρῳ τοὺς ἐπιχρύσους Ἔρωτας δεκαοκτὼ καὶ τὰς δύο Νεικὰς σὺν ταῖς βάσεσιν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκε.

II.

Σαμιάδης Μενάνδρου ἰατρὸς γενόμενος ἄριστος ἀνέθηκεν τὸ τέμενος καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς κλη . . . . . .

XXIX.—ON THE BRAZEN PROW OF AN ANCIENT SHIP OF WAR.

BY W. MARTIN LEAKE, ESQ., F. R. S.

(Read June 23, 1842.)

At the last Meeting of the Royal Society of Literature I had the pleasure of laying on our table the brazen prow of an ancient ship of war, which had been intrusted to me for that purpose by its proprietor, Sir Howard Douglas; but I had obtained it too recently to admit of its being accompanied by any explanatory Paper. I shall now endeavour to supply that deficiency.

This relic of ancient art was found by some Neapolitan fishermen, about three years ago, embedded in mud at a depth of eight feet of water in the outer bay of Prévyza, and was immediately conveyed by them to Corfú, where Sir Howard Douglas then held the office of Lord High Commissioner. I have assumed it to be the prow of a ship of war, from various allusions in ancient authors, and figures on ancient monuments; for no similar object has ever been discovered, or at least preserved, except at Genoa, but where the ancient instrument, although of the same material and obviously intended for a similar purpose, bears in other respects very little resemblance to that which was found at Prévyza.

That copper was in common use for arming the heads of ships of war, may be presumed from the expression χαλκέμβολοι ναῦς, or 'brazen-prowed ships,' which we find employed in opposition to transports and vessels of burden.[1]

The instrument found at Prévyza consists of two parts. The anterior represents the head and shoulders of a man armed with helmet and cuirass, projecting obliquely upwards from a circular plate with an ornamented margin, and appearing as if emerging from a circular aperture. The length of this part from the crest of the helmet to the opposite part of the circle is 10½ inches, the diameter of the circle 8 inches. From either side of this portion of the instrument branch two strong plates of brass, 15 inches in length, and diverging so that their extremities are about 20 inches asunder. Their inner surface, as well as that of the anterior part, shows that the whole was firmly attached to a frame-work of wood. In particular, two holes for nails are apparent near the extremities of the two wings, the heads or fastenings of which on the outside surface were circular, and near two inches in diameter.

The construction of the prows of ships of war in the third century B. C. is shown by the rostral column of Duilius at Rome; and there are similar representations of them on other monuments of less certain date. From these it seems evident that the brazen instrument found at Prévyza was no more than the metallic part of the prora including the figure-head, intended perhaps to show that the ship was named the Mars:

[1] Diodor. 14, 59. Hence the prows were sometimes described as τὰ χαλκώματα τῶν νεῶν. To carry them away was a mode of disarming an enemy's ships. Diodor. 20, 9, & 15.

the rostrum, properly so called, was placed below the prora, and projected further into the water, and it was by means of the latter that, when a skilful pilot had placed a ship in an advantageous position, he might, by giving way to his vessel, inflict such a blow upon the enemy's ship near the water-line as might prove instantly fatal.[2]

The instrument found in the harbour of Genoa in the year 1597, and now preserved in the ducal palace of that city, appears to have been a simple casing of hardened copper, for the purpose of covering a cylindrical wooden prow. It belonged probably to the more primitive system of naval warfare, and was, perhaps, the beak of a Tyrrhenian galley; a conjecture arising first from its place of discovery, the northernmost city of Tyrrhenia having bordered upon Liguria: secondly, because the Tyrrhenians, until conquered by the Romans, or at least until beaten by the Syracusans, were the greatest naval power in Italy; and thirdly, because on many of the vases lately found at

[2] We find from the Duilian column that the rostrum often terminated in a triple point, which was made to imitate, by means of a *rilievo* on the sides of the rostrum, the points of three swords. Virgil (though probably by an anachronism) alludes to this triple point of the rostrum in describing the games in honour of Anchises at Drepanum:

——————————— totumque dehiscit,
Convulsum remis rostrisque tridentibus æquor.

See Montfaucon, Antiquité expliquée, tome iv. p. 211, *seq.* In the larger class of vessels there were often more than three points, and these were probably the origin of those metallic projections (generally five or six) on the Venetian gondolas which protect the heads of those delicate boats from the dangers constantly occurring in the canals of Venice, and which have given rise to many speculations as to their origin.

Vulci in Etruria, galleys are figured with prows representing a boar's head, which is the form of the relic at Genoa.

So closely resembling were the arts and customs of the Tyrrhenians and Greeks in the ages prior to the extension of the Roman power, that we may presume that this instrument, together with the vases above mentioned, which are of the fifth or sixth centuries before the Christian æra, give a tolerably correct idea of the ἔμβολος or beak of the Greek ship of war in its most simple form; when it seems from Pindar to have been not less employed as an instrument for the suspension of the anchor when the vessel was at sea, than as a weapon of offence.[3] As the Greeks advanced in nautical skill and increased their sphere of naval warfare, an improvement in the structure of the embolus naturally took place; and it appears that the same city which was the earliest naval school in Greece led the way in improving the embolus. Diodorus relates that at the siege of Syracuse by the Athenians in the year B. C. 413, Ariston, who went from Corinth to the assistance of the Syracusans, persuaded them to make the prows of their vessels shorter, stronger, and lower than they had previously been, by which means they gained great advantages over the Athenians, whose prows were higher and weaker.[4]

Modern experience leaves little doubt that such an improvement speedily became common to the fleets of all the principal naval powers, and that when the

[3] Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐμβόλου κρέμασαν ἀγκύρας ὕπερθεν. Pyth. 4, v. 341. Of this kind were the prows, which were rendered unserviceable by being bent, in a battle fought in the year 541 B. C. Herodot. 1, 166.

[4] Diodor. 13, 10.

Romans possessed a fleet their rostra would be constructed nearly in the same manner as those of the Greeks, Tyrrhenians, and Carthaginians of that time. We read accordingly of frequent examples in the third century B. C. of ships submerged by a single blow from an enemy's galley, when able manœuvres or circumstances of weather had given the advantage of position to one of the contending parties.

In the archives of the Athenian navy, lately discovered in the Peiræeus, which are one hundred and forty years more ancient than the Duilian column, and near a century later than the Corinthian improvement, we find ἔμβολοι[5] mentioned among the naval stores.[6] In its general import the word was equivalent to the Latin *rostrum*, as Polybius makes manifest by employing οἱ ἔμβολοι ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ to signify the pulpit in the Roman forum, adorned with rostra, from whence the orators addressed the people.[7] But in the Athenian naval archives we cannot discover any such clear distinction between the prora and the rostrum, as is given by a comparison of the instrument found at Prévyza with the figures of beaks on the Duilian column. From the Athenian documents it appears that the emboli were kept separate from the ships

[5] Euripides alludes to the brazen emboli of the fleet of Agamemnon (Iphig. in Aul. 1320), and Æschylus (in Myrmid.) to a ship with ten emboli. These have sometimes been regarded as poetical anachronisms, but it is not unlikely that from very early times Greek ships of war had metallic prows.

[6] Boeckh, Urkunden über das Seewesen des Attischen Staates. See the inscriptions at pages 446, 449, 494, *seq.*, 505. In the last passage the weights of four emboli are given, but the place is imperfect, and the number of *talents* consequently doubtful. Their value is also stated, and was above 520 drachmæ.

[7] Polyb. 6, 53.

in dock. They appear to have been often supplied by the trierarchs, and not unfrequently to have been works of celebrated artists: those belonging to the government were probably deposited, not in the naval yard, but in the armoury, and were not adjusted to the ships until these were armed for sea. There was a part of the ship itself called the *προεμβόλιον*; apparently it was that part of the head into which the embolus was fitted: we find in more than one place in the Athenian archives a ship noticed as *ἐπισκευῆς δεομένη· προεμβόλιον οὐκ ἔχουσα.*[8] The proembolion, therefore, seems not to have been exactly the same thing as the *προέμβολος*, *προέμβολον*, or *προεμβολὶς* of later times;[9] for the *προέμβολος*, according to the description of Julius Pollux, was the same kind of instrument as that found at Prévyza. After describing the keel of the ship and the upper keel (*ἡ δευτέρα τροπὶς*, sometimes called *Λέσβιον*, and *χαλκήνης*, and *κλειτοπόδιον*), Julius Pollux adds, that the extremity of the latter at the prow was called the *προέμβολος*, and that under it was the *ἔμβολον* [*τὸ καταλῆγον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν πρώραν προέμβολος (καλεῖται), τὸ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτὴν ἔμβολον*].[10]

[8] Boeckh, Urkunden über das Seewesen des Attischen Staates. See the inscriptions at pages 335, 337, 342, 345.

[9] Agath. 5, p. 167, Paris. Suid. in v. Basil. Patric. Naumach. ap. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. viii. p. 140.

[10] Some ships carried on the embolus an instrument called *δελφὶς*, for throwing weights upon the enemy's ship in boarding. On the summit of the proembolus was the *ἀκροστόλιον*, made in various forms, and on either side of it was the *πτύχη*, bearing the *ὀφθαλμὸς* or eye, which we often see represented on the prows of ancient galleys, together with the name of the ship. The *ἄφλαστον* or aplustre was the upper termination of the poop, corresponding to the acrostolium of the prow. For the figure of the aplustre see Montfaucon.

I shall not occupy the time of the Meeting with the question as to the site of the battle of Actium, having entered fully into that subject in my Travels in Northern Greece, vol. iv. chap. 34. The site of Actium itself had been doubtful, and had generally, in deference to the authority of D'Anville, been placed upon a high promontory to the north-westward of Vónitza, which separates the gulf of Prévyza from that of Arta. But there are strong reasons for believing that Actium occupied the low promontory immediately in face of Prévyza called Akri, a modern name bearing the same import as Actium. But even with this admission as to the position of Actium, it had been thought probable that the naval action had occurred in the gulf and not in the outer bay of Prévyza. It has been my endeavour to show, upon full consideration of all the authorities and circumstances relating to this great event, that the battle was fought in the outer bay; that the fleet of Antony occupied the harbour of Prévyza, or western part of the gulf of Prévyza adjacent to the town; that the camp of Antony was on the peninsula or promontory Akri, the ancient Actium; that the camp of Augustus was on the height of Mikhalítzi, and at the foot of that hill on the site afterwards occupied by *Nicopolis;* and that his fleet, previously to its advance to the outer bay of Prévyza, anchored in the harbour of Mýtika, anciently Comarus, where he built walls from the camp to the shore, to secure the communication between them. The discovery of the prow in the outer bay of Prévyza affords some slight confirmation of the truth of these conclusions; for although a ship may at any time have been accidentally sunk in the outer bay, notwithstanding that the battle of Actium may

have been fought within the gulf, the doctrine of chances is more favourable to the supposition that the battle was fought where the prow was found.

There can be no certainty whether this ancient relic belonged to a Greek or a Roman galley; but in either case it is more probably the work of a Greek, for almost all fine works of art were at that time executed by Greeks; and though much corroded by long exposure to the action of the sea at no great depth on a coast exposed to frequent gales, it bears proof of having once been finely executed in the ornamental parts. Apparently it was the prow of a ship of no great magnitude. The rostrum which lay below it would seem to have been quite separate from it, and may possibly have been of iron, for Pliny describes rostra as "ære *ferroque* ad ictus armata;"[11] and Vitruvius, in describing a battering-ram, remarks that it had a rostrum of hard iron like that of a ship of war (ut naves longæ solent).[12] We may infer, perhaps, from these authorities, that, although hardened copper was the ordinary material in earlier times as well for the beaks of ships as for other armour, iron was commonly employed for the rostra of ships by the Romans; and hence, perhaps, a prora may have been preserved, while the rostrum appertaining to it, having been formed of a less durable material, may in the course of nineteen centuries have been totally destroyed.

[11] Plin. H. N. 32, 1.

[12] Vitruv. 10, 21.

XXX.—ON AN INSCRIBED MONUMENT OF XANTHUS.

IN A LETTER FROM C. FELLOWS, ESQ., TO W. R. HAMILTON, ESQ.

London, Sept. 1842.

SIR,

The accompanying plates represent a monument standing amidst the ruins of the ancient city of Xanthus; the first shows its position relatively to the theatre and other objects: from the marks of mortise-joints seen on the top of the fallen fragment, and from the circumstance of there being some pieces of a capstone near, I judge that this monument has resembled in general form the high one seen in the distance, and presenting in bas-relief the legend of the daughters of King Pandarus.

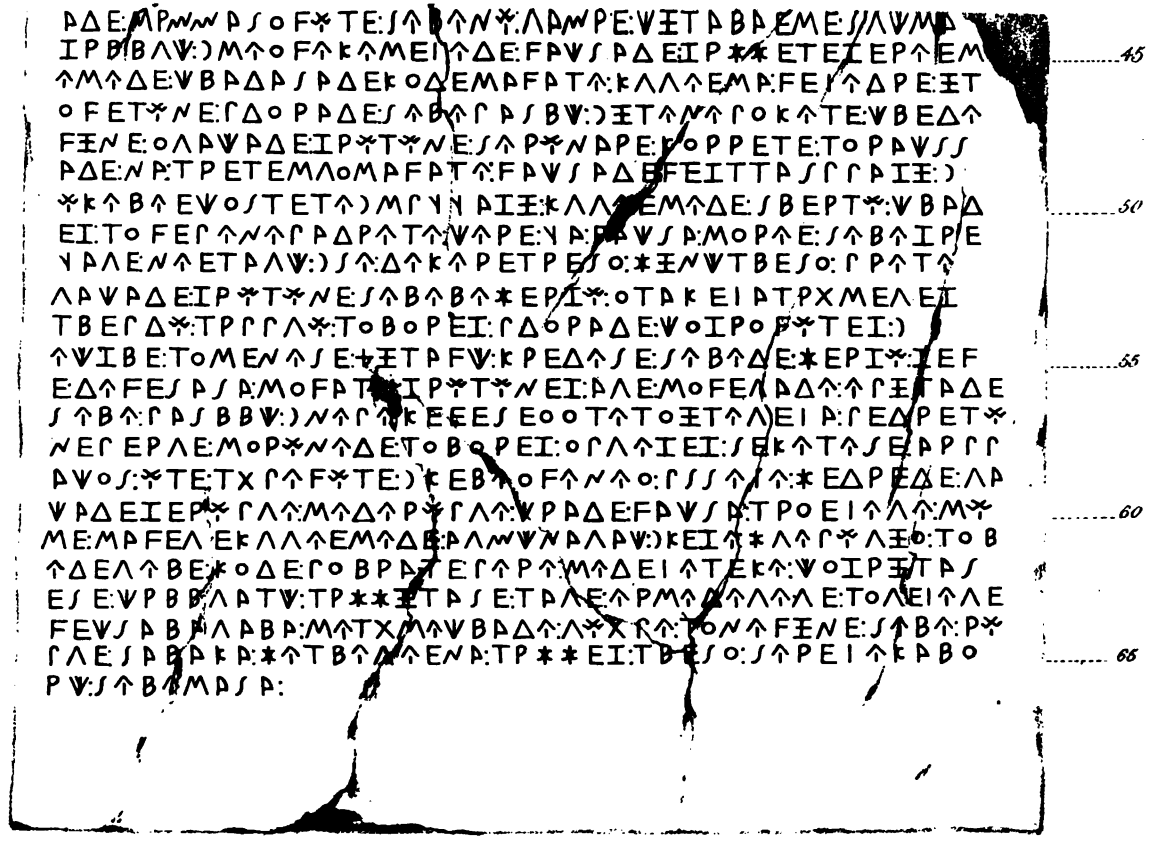
I noticed this inscribed monument on my first travels in Lycia:[1] in my second visit[2] I copied, as well as circumstances permitted me, the inscription from the four sides, but wanted ladders to enable me to examine the upper portion, and power to turn over the fallen top, which weighed several tons. During my visit of the past winter, being provided with all that was requisite, I have turned over the fallen frag-

[1] Asia Minor in 1838, p. 233. [2] Lycia in 1840, p. 168.

Lithotint by W. L. Walton from a Sketch by C. Fellows Esqr. C. Hullmandel's Patent.

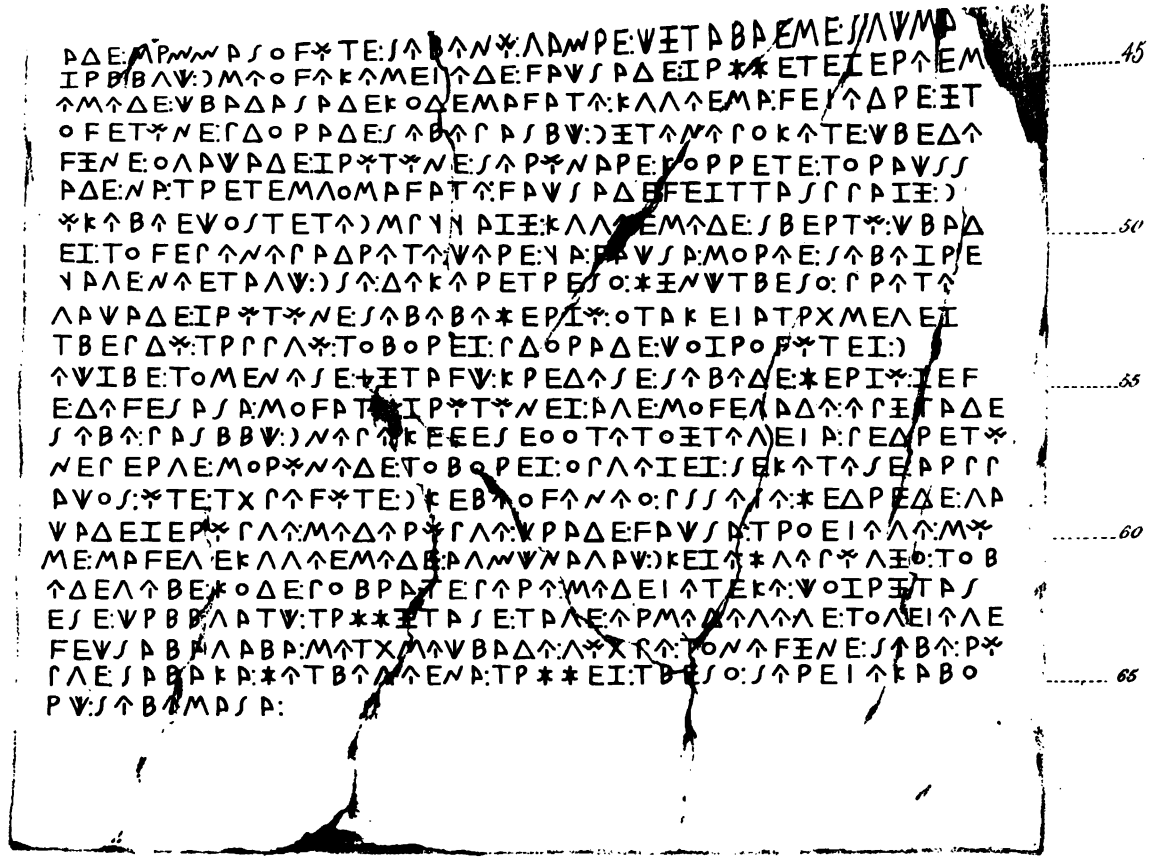
INSCRIBED MONUMENT AT XANTHUS.

London. Published by John Murray 1842

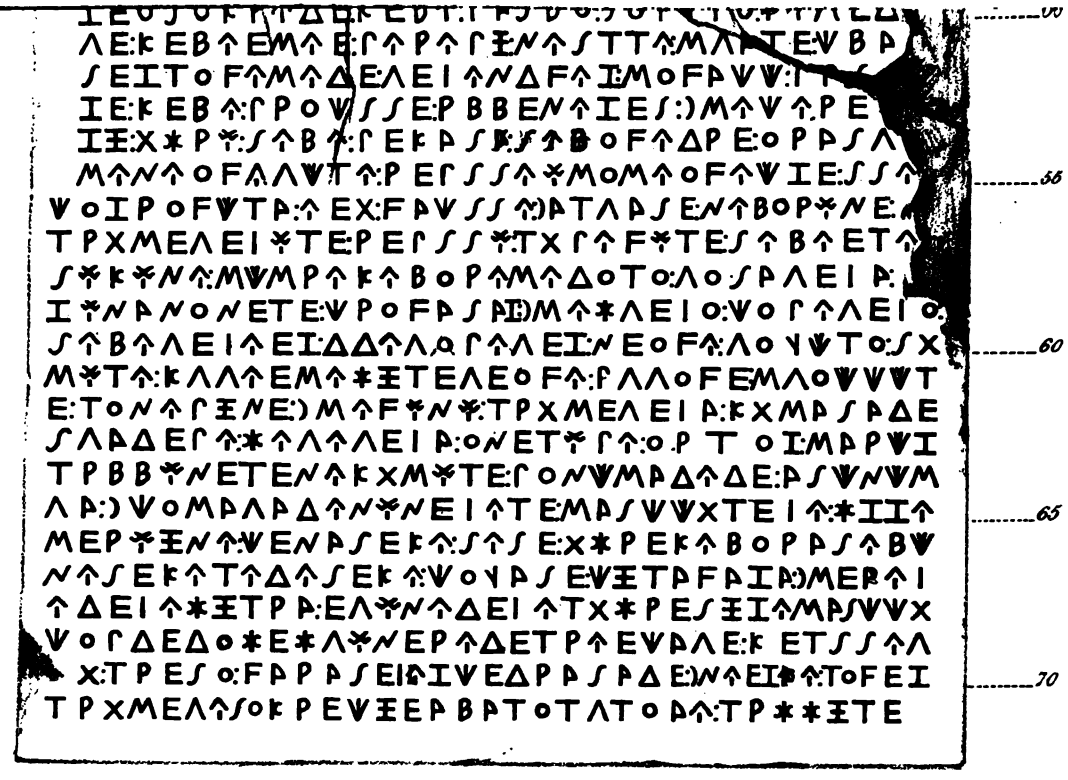


North East Side

North West Side.



North East Side.



North West Side.

ment, and upon its under side discovered the commencement of the inscription towards the north-east. I have now re-copied the whole of the four sides, and collated my former copy with the original. I have also taken casts of each side with unsized impress paper: from these materials the present engravings are made. A pentagraph has been used to reduce the whole from the casts, therefore the relative position of each character is preserved. The imperfections in the cast have been supplied by reference to the manuscript copies. The scale is one inch to the foot. As to the correctness of the copy of the Lycian portion I have no doubt; but the Greek characters are less deeply cut, and were traced with the greatest difficulty. My friend the Rev. E. Daniell, while visiting me at Xanthus, was kind enough to assist by making a copy of the Greek portion, independently, in order to compare it with mine. The first and ninth lines are the most imperfect. In ascending to a level with the top of the monument, I observed a curious fact,—the characters cut upon the upper portion are larger and wider apart than those on the lower; thus counteracting the effect of diminution by distance, as seen from the ground.

Since the publication of my "Lycia," in the Appendix to which Mr. Daniel Sharpe has commenced his remarks by the enumeration of all that had been previously written on the language of the ancient Lycians, several learned writers have been engaged on the subject of the Lycian inscriptions,—Dr. F. A. Grotefend, in the early numbers in this year of the "Gottingische Gelehrte Anzeigen;" M. Raoul Rochette, in the recent numbers of the "Journal des Savants;"—and Professor Lassen is, I hear, now

writing on the same inscriptions. To all interested in the subject, the accompanying plates will be highly valuable; and I trust, through the volumes of the Royal Society of Literature, to read further illustrations of this early language.

I remain, Sir,

Yours very truly,

C. FELLOWS.

W. R. Hamilton, Esq., &c., &c., &c.

REMARKS ON THE SAME MONUMENT.

BY COLONEL LEAKE.

DEAR HAMILTON,

I return herewith the lithograph of the inscribed Stele of Xanthus. Mr. Fellows remarks, that the lines in Greek are much less carefully and deeply cut than those in the Lycian character: I observe also, in his coloured drawing of the monument, that fractures of the stone have disfigured some of the letters, and entirely obliterated others, particularly at the beginning and ending of some of the lines. But of the far greater number of letters there seems no doubt, and with the slight restorations which the preceding causes require, the inscription, which is in twelve verses, may be read in cursive characters as follows:

1. (Ἐς δ)ὲ οὔτ' Εὐρώπην, (Ἀ)σίας δίχα, (Ἴ)ωνος ἐν ἔ(θνει),
2. (Ο)ὐδ' ἔς πω Λυκίων στήλην, τὸ πᾶν δὲ ἀνέθηκ(ε)ν
3. (Δώ)δεκα Θεοῖς, ἀγορᾶς ἐν καθαρῷ τεμένει,
4. (Νικ)έων καὶ πολέμου μνῆμα τόδε ἀθάν(α)τον,
5. (Δᾶτ)ις ὁ δὲ Ἁρπάγο(υ) υἱὸς, ἀριστεύσας[1] τὰ δ(ὲ ἐ)ν (τοῖς)
6. (Κα)ρσὶ πάλην Λυκίων τῶν τότ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ·
7. (Ἄ)λλας* δὲ ἀκροπόλεσσιν Ἀθηναίᾳ πτολιπόρθ(ῳ)
8. Ἔρσας[2] συνγένεσιν δῶκε μέρος βασιλε(ῖ) [Ἀσ(ί)ας]·
9. (Καὶ χ)άριν ἀθανάτο(ις) ο(ὐ) ἀπεμν(ή)σα(ντ)ο δίκαιαν.
10. Ἑπτὰ δὲ ὁπλίτας (ἔ)κτεινεν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ· καλὰ ΣΔΝ
11. Ζηνὶ δ' ἐπέστη τρόπαια, βοτῶν θύη μὲν ἁπάντων,
12. Καλλίστοις δ' ἔρ(γ)οις κλει(νὸν) γένο(ς)[3] ἐστεφάνωσεν.

TRANSLATION.

Not in Europe, away from Asia, in the nation of Ion (*i. e.* Attica), nor in any place of the Lycians, has (Datis), son of Harpagus, (placed) a pillar, but has dedicated the whole to the Twelve Gods, in a pure inclosure of the agora, as an immortal monument of victories and war—he who had gained the highest honours in the games of the Carians, in wrestling with such of the Lycians as were of the proper age. Having raised other (pillars) in the kindred citadels to Minerva the destroyer of cities, he gave a portion to the King

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[1] Τὰ πρῶτα καλλιστεῖ' ἀριστεύσας στρατοῦ. Sophoc. Aj. 435. The double accusative after νικῶ was common, as Ἴσθμια ἐνίκα πάλην in an epigram of Simonides (Anthol. p. 140), and in many inscriptions.

* Or πολλὰς.

[2] Qu. Ionicè for ἄρσας, like ἔρσην employed by Herodotus for ἄρσην?

[3] Instead of κλεινὸν γένος we might read καὶ κάπετον· (κάπετος or σκάπετος, from σκάπτω· τάφος, σορὸς, θήκη, ὄρυγμα, βόθρος. Hesych. Suid. in vv.) On this supposition the ἔργα in the twelfth line were works of art, similar to those in the British Museum, which crowned another Xanthian stele; and in this case the inscribed stele was sepulchral; which opinion is favoured by a third similar pillar at Xanthus surmounting some sepulchres excavated in the rock. (See Fellows's Journal in Asia Minor, p. 226.) On the other hand, the position of the inscribed stele in the temple of the Twelve Gods in the agora was rather that of an honorary than of a sepulchral monument.

of Asia. Nor did they forget the respect due to the immortals. He slew seven heavy-armed soldiers in one day, erected noble trophies to Jupiter, (made) sacrifices of all kinds of cattle, and crowned with honour his illustrious race.

It will be seen that the third, fourth, sixth, and eighth lines, are pentameters, the rest hexameters. Some short syllables are made long: *εοῖς* and *ἑων*, represent single syllables, and there are some redundant letters at the end of the eighth and tenth lines. In the eighth the word ΑΣΙΑΣ appears to have been added by some person regardless of the versification, but who may have thought this addition necessary in alluding to the Great King, in order to distinguish him from the hereditary governors, some of whom, especially in the later times of the Persian occupation of Asia, were styled *βασιλεῖς* as well as *σατράπαι*.[4] The *ΣΔΝ*, at the end of the tenth line, seems to contain the consonants of the next word, *Ζηνὶ*, the more ancient *ΣΔ* being employed instead

[4] Aristotle says (de Mundo, 6), *τὴν σύμπασαν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἀσίας διειλήφεσαν κατὰ ἔθνη στρατηγοὶ καὶ σατράπαι καὶ βασιλεῖς, δοῦλοι τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως*. But, properly, the governors of the Persian provinces were the only Satraps, and the Persian monarch the only *βασιλεύς*. This explains an unique silver tetradrachm of the British Museum, which the late Mr. Combe ascribed to Basilis in Arcadia (Archæologia, xviii. p. 344). It represents on one side a bearded head, covered with a cap, which extends under the chin, and is bound over the forehead with a fillet, being precisely the head-dress of Dareius on the Mosaic of Pompeii: on the reverse is a seven-stringed lyre, with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛ, for *Βασιλέως*. The lyre was peculiarly the symbol of Colophon, with reference to the worship of Apollo, and is found on all its earlier coins (*Κολοφὼν μὲν γὰρ ἔχει τὴν λύραν*, Himer. Orat. 21, 8). In the Peloponnesian war, which is about the date of the money in question, Colophon was in possession of the Persians (Thucyd. 3, 34). The Persian prince reigning at that time was Artaxerxes the First.

of Z. In several places vowels have been omitted, as in the oriental languages.

The mention made of the King of Asia confines the date of this monument between the year 541 B.C., when Xanthus was taken by Harpagus, the general of Cyrus, and 333 B. C., when Lycia submitted to Alexander the Great. The middle period may be taken as an approximation to the true date: for if the letters M, N, ξ, ΑΡΠΑΓΟ for ΑΡΠΑΓΟΥ, and ΒΑΣΙΛΕ for ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ, may seem to belong to the early part of the fifth century, the absence, on the other hand, of any dialectic forms, unless it be in the word ΕΡΣΑΣ, tends to place the document in a time approaching to that of Alexander. As to the prosodial irregularities,[5] the harshness of the poetry, its unlikeness to the polished epigram of later times, these, as well as the negligence exhibited in the omission of some letters, and in the slightness of the engraving compared with that of the Lycian inscriptions on the same stone, may be attributed to the prevalent use of the latter language in this province, of which numerous monuments, and this stele in particular, are proofs. Some light may hereafter perhaps be thrown on its date by the works of art, which probably decorated its capital, and were similar to those on the capital of another stele, which are now in the British Museum.[6] These are of a much older style of sculpture than the period which I have

[5] Similar barbarisms occurred even in Ionia. Photius cites the verses of Hipponax of Ephesus, who flourished in the time of Crœsus and Cyrus, as furnishing some examples of the corruption of Greek prosody caused by the admixture of the Asiatic Greeks with the neighbouring Barbarians. Ἐλυμήναντο τῆς διαλέκτου τὸ πάτριον· τὰ μέτρα· τοὺς χρόνους. Phot. in φαρμακός.

[6] See the remark of Mr. Fellows in page 254.

just attributed to the inscribed stele. They are earlier probably than the Persian conquest, and represent apparently offerings to the deities of the old Cretan colony, with an allusion to the legend of Pandarus. In assigning to them a conjectural date of about 600 B. C., we must suppose the art of sculpture in those ages to have been more advanced in Lycia than in Sicily; as visitors of the British Museum may convince themselves by comparing these marbles with the metopes of Selinus, which cannot well be older than 600, because Selinus was not founded until 627.

The time of the Persian occupation of Asia limits the date of another Xanthian monument in the British Museum, namely, a frieze which represents in relief the siege of a city, and its submission to an Asiatic chieftain. The style of art belongs to the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century B. C.[7] The sculptures may, nevertheless, represent the capture of Xanthus by Harpagus in the middle of the sixth: for Lycia was tributary to Persia for more than two centuries after that event; and Xanthus, as the chief city, was probably the residence of a Persian agent, and

[7] This perhaps may be questioned, and a century or two later may be thought a preferable date; but history would be opposed to it. After the death of Alexander, Western Asia became the scene of conflict between military chieftains, not Satraps, although at first so called, but sovereigns with despotic power, contending against one another at the head of large armies,—a condition most unfavourable to the arts of peace and the prosperity of the smaller towns; especially as those Greek kings were at the same time bestowing their influence and wealth on the chief cities, Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamus, and Sardes, and on the numerous new towns rising in various parts of Asia Minor, which were named in honour of Alexander, Antigonus, Antiochus, Seleucus, Attalus, Eumenes, and Apame.

was partly governed, like the other cities and provinces of Asia Minor, by native magistrates supported by Persia. In Caria there was a tributary sovereign; in Lycia, a council of deputies from the principal cities.[8] Thus connected as the Lycian government was with Persia, and separated from all the interests of European Greece, we need not be surprised at finding a public building decorated with Greek sculpture descriptive of one of the most memorable events in the history of Lycia, although it tended to the glory of Persia, and not of Greece. It is not unlikely, moreover, that Xanthus had been occupied in greater force by the conquerors, than almost any other place in the south-western satrapy, in consequence of its important position and its obstinate resistance to Harpagus, with the consequent destruction of its former inhabitants. It is true that in those parts of the frieze which are now in the British Museum, there is no appearance of that tragical occurrence, which, according to Herodotus, distinguished the capture of Xanthus, namely, the destruction by the Xanthians of their wives, children, and property, previously to the sortie in which they all perished. But it would be too much to expect an exact conformity between the narrative of the historian and the poetry of the sculptor, more than a century after the event. An exaggerated account of the self-devotion of the Xanthians may have been reported to Herodotus, and noticed by him as if all the Xanthians had thus perished, and no other inhabitants had been left in the town; or, possibly, the occurrence may have been represented in some part of

[8] It is evident from Strabo that the Lycian confederacy, existing in his time, was a continuation or renewal of the ancient league.

the frieze which has not yet been discovered. In that part which we possess, aged men are standing before the conqueror, in the act, apparently, of delivering up the city to him. He is seated in a chair, with an umbrella held over his head,[9] and behind him are some attendants, whose helmets show them to be Greeks, while their long χιτῶνες, or shirts, strongly mark them as intended for the Ionian troops who accompanied Harpagus to the conquest of Lycia.[10] The seated figure wears a cap of the kind, commonly called Phrygian, and differing from that which was worn by the kings of Persia.[11] A part of the ramparts of the city is introduced in four different places; and in the intermediate parts are represented battles,—a sortie, an escalade, and the conducting of prisoners. In this, as well as in the larger Xanthian frieze in the British Museum, the dress and armour differ little from those in similar representations on monuments of European Greece, except in the frequent occurrence of the above-

[9] Tchatr (umbrella), a word common to Persian and Sanscrit, and which is used in Turkish in the sense of *tent*, has generally been supposed the original of the σατράπης, or ἐξσατράπης, or ἐξαιθράπης, of the Greeks; (see these different forms of the word in Boeckh, C. Ins. Gr., Nos. 2691, 2692, 2919.) Malcolm, in his History of Persia, vol. i. p. 271, explains *Satrap* as "tchattrapa, or tchattrapáti, lord of the umbrella of state, a title conferred upon provincial governors paying a fixed revenue, and furnishing a fixed quota of troops." Professor Wilson, however, (Ariana Antiqua, p. 23,) derives the word from the Sanscrit Kshattra, the military cast; nor am I aware that there is any proof that the Satraps of Asia Minor were privileged to wear the umbrella. We know that it was a distinction of the Kings of Egypt and Persia, and perhaps Harpagus may have enjoyed that honour as allied to the royal family of Media. —Herodot. 1, 108.

[10] Ἰάονες ἑλκεχίτωνες, Il. N. 685. Herodot. 1, 171.

[11] See above, p. 258, n. 4.

mentioned long-shirted hoplitæ. Of the armour worn by the Lycians in the expedition of Xerxes, as described by Herodotus, we may recognise in some of the figures the goat-skins over their shoulders, and, in others, the bows, the cuirasses, the leg armour, the pointed helmets, but not the hooked knives or the short swords.[12]

To return to a consideration of the inscribed stele. It was situated "in an inclosure dedicated to the Twelve Gods in the agora." From these words two inferences may be drawn:—1. That the agora occupied the level below the theatre, which latter was built, as so often occurred in Greek cities, on the bank which separated the upper height or acropolis from the lower level of the agora, such banks or cliffs having often been convenient for excavating the cavea of a theatre.[13] 2. That the son of Harpagus was a man of great eminence in the Xanthian state; a fact apparent as well from the distinguished position of his monument, as from the long and elaborate inscription

[12] *Θωρηκοφόροι τε ἐόντες καὶ κνημιδοφόροι, εἶχον δὲ τόξα κρανέϊνα καὶ ὀϊστοὺς καλαμίνους ἀπτέρους καὶ ἀκόντια· ἐπὶ δὲ, αἰγὸς δέρματα περὶ τοὺς ὤμους αἰωρεύμενα· περὶ δὲ τῆσι κεφαλῆσι πίλους πτεροῖσι περιεστεφανωμένους· ἐγχειρίδια δὲ καὶ δρέπανα εἶχον.* Herodot. 7, 92.

[13] From Appian's account of the siege of Xanthus by Brutus (Bel. Civ. 4. 76, *seq.*), we learn that the principal gate of the city was not far from the agora, and that on one side of the latter stood the Sarpedonium, in which some of the Romans defended themselves until their friends had entered and made themselves masters of the city. Many of the Xanthians then destroyed themselves and families, as their predecessors had done when Xanthus was taken by Harpagus. Appian relates that they had acted in the same manner when Lycia submitted to Alexander the Great; but the silence of Arrian renders this fact something more than doubtful.

carefully engraved upon it. The name Harpagus gives some reason to believe, that the son may have been a descendant of the same celebrated officer of Cyrus who subdued the maritime parts of Asia Minor and captured Xanthus, and who was a Mede,[14] though the name is Greek, having been formed probably either in imitation of the sound or of the meaning of the Median name. That of his son is uncertain. We can only be sure that it was a dissyllable ending in ΙΣ. It may have been ΔΑΜΙΣ, or ΛΥΣΙΣ, or ΖΕΥΞΙΣ, or any other of that class; but none seems more likely than ΔΑΤΙΣ, because Datis, like Harpagus, is a Median name converted into Greek. In a copy of the inscription by Mr. Fellows, which carefully shows all the fractures of the marble, there is great appearance of the upright of a Τ preceding the Ι. It is not, however, necessary to suppose that the Harpagus named in the inscription was the general of Cyrus, which would give to the monument the early date of about 520 B. C. He may have been a grandson of that Harpagus, and possibly the same Harpagus who commanded the Persian forces on the coast of Æolis, in the year B. C. 493, and who appears to have been married to a daughter of Darius Hystaspes.[15] Two

[14] Herodot. 1, 108.

[15] Herodot. 5, 116.—6, 28, 30. The royal descent of the house of Harpagus would afford a good illustration of the words γένος, συγγένεσιν in the twelfth and eighth lines of the inscription. Συγγένεσιν would then refer to the occupation of other citadels in this satrapy by descendants of the royal family of Persia. Herodotus shows that most of the Persian officers in high command in Asia Minor were connected with the throne by means of the numerous daughters of the kings, and hence the family of Harpagus may have been doubly allied to them. It seems not impossible that the letters ΚΑΙΙΚΑ, of which nothing Greek can be made without some change or addi-

such illustrious names as Harpagus and Datis are not unlikely to have been preserved in a family in alternate succession, according to a custom which was common in Greece, both Asiatic and European. The exploit of "slaying seven enemies in one day," indicates, by the word ὁπλῖται applied to them, that they were Greek, perhaps Asiatic Greek: but so little has been saved of the history of Asiatic Greece, except as connected with that of European Greece, that it is impossible to say to what war the second and seventh lines of this inscription refer. Probably Xanthus was never tributary to Athens; for, if in the height of Athenian naval power, when Cimon conducted his fleet along the coast of Lycia, in his way to the Eurymedon, he found it necessary to attack Phaselis, because, although situated on the sea-shore and inhabited by Greeks, it remained faithful to the King of Persia, we may presume that Xanthus, more Lycian than Greek, and situated in a position of great strength, at a distance of six miles from the sea, was not even attempted by him. Again, in the nineteenth year of the Peloponnesian war (B.C. 412), when the Athenian dependencies of the Asiatic coast revolted, and the Athenian fleet was opposed to the Lacedæmonian in alliance with Tissaphernes, Satrap of the south-western provinces, no mention is made of this important city, nor of any but those situated nearer the sea, in Caria and Ionia.

I have not alluded to the occurrence of Η and Ω in this inscription as affecting the question of its date, because, although in Attica these letters were

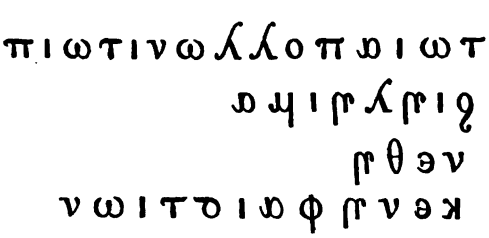
tion, may conceal the name of the γένος, and perhaps that of the dynasty commonly called Kaianian: for Kaikaus, in Greek Kyaxares, appears to have been the father or uncle of the first Harpagus. Compare chapters 107, 108, 109, of Herodotus, lib. 1.

not introduced generally into public documents until after the year 403, they are found in Asiatic inscriptions, which cannot be much less ancient than 600 years before the Christian æra. They are found, for example, on the bronze hare of the British Museum, on which are four lines written from right to left; they are found also on the chair of one of the archaic seated statues, which formed an avenue of the temple of Branchidæ, and in the Ionic portion of the inscriptions on the stele of Sigeium. Those of Branchidæ and Sigeium are in Boustrophedon, a mode of writing in which the laws of Solon were engraved, about the year 593 B. C.[16]

I shall not occupy the Society's time and betray my own insufficiency by any remarks upon the Lycian inscriptions, which, with the exception of the twelve Greek lines, cover every side of the Xanthian stele.

[16] See Topography of Athens, p. 127, 2nd edition. As an illustration of these examples I subjoin copies of the three inscriptions in cursive letters, referring for a correct representation of the original documents, with remarks upon them, to the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, vol. i. Part II. p. 1; to the Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor, p. 240; and to Boeckh's Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum, No. 8.

ON THE BRONZE HARE.



Τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πριηλεῖ μ' ἀνέθηκεν Ἡφαιστίων.

The Lycian language has engaged, and still engages, the attention of some of the ablest philologers of Europe. I may be permitted, however, on the present occasion, to remark that the Lycian alphabet has evidently been formed from the Greek, with such

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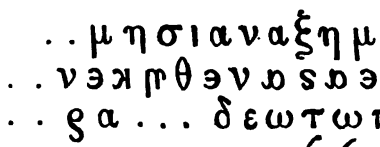
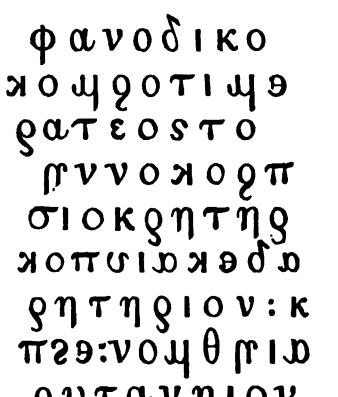
AT BRANCHIDÆ.



(Ἑρ)μησιάναξ ἡμεὰς ἀνέθηκεν (τῷ) (Β)ρα(νκί)δεω τῷ 'πόλλωνι.

ON THE SIGEIAN PILLAR.

UPPER INSCRIPTION IN IONIC.



Φανοδίκου εἰμὶ τοῦ Ἑρμοκράτεος τοῦ Προκοννησίου. Κρητῆρα δὲ καὶ ὑποκρητήριον καὶ ἡθμὸν ἐς πρυτανήϊον ἔδωκεν Συκεεῦσιν.

just attributed to the inscribed stele. They are earlier probably than the Persian conquest, and represent apparently offerings to the deities of the old Cretan colony, with an allusion to the legend of Pandarus. In assigning to them a conjectural date of about 600 B.C., we must suppose the art of sculpture in those ages to have been more advanced in Lycia than in Sicily; as visitors of the British Museum may convince themselves by comparing these marbles with the metopes of Selinus, which cannot well be older than 600, because Selinus was not founded until 627.

The time of the Persian occupation of Asia limits the date of another Xanthian monument in the British Museum, namely, a frieze which represents in relief the siege of a city, and its submission to an Asiatic chieftain. The style of art belongs to the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century B. C.[7] The sculptures may, nevertheless, represent the capture of Xanthus by Harpagus in the middle of the sixth: for Lycia was tributary to Persia for more than two centuries after that event; and Xanthus, as the chief city, was probably the residence of a Persian agent, and

[7] This perhaps may be questioned, and a century or two later may be thought a preferable date; but history would be opposed to it. After the death of Alexander, Western Asia became the scene of conflict between military chieftains, not Satraps, although at first so called, but sovereigns with despotic power, contending against one another at the head of large armies,—a condition most unfavourable to the arts of peace and the prosperity of the smaller towns; especially as those Greek kings were at the same time bestowing their influence and wealth on the chief cities, Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamus, and Sardes, and on the numerous new towns rising in various parts of Asia Minor, which were named in honour of Alexander, Antigonus, Antiochus, Seleucus, Attalus, Eumenes, and Apame.

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II.

On a slab of marble built in the town wall, on the right side of the above gate.

ΩΓΥ . . ΣΟΣ . . ΣΟΣΙΤΣΕ
ΟΑΝΩΛΕΝΕΡΟΕΤΟ . ΔΕΣΗ
ΓΑΤΦΣΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΥΤ . .

III.

On a votive altar inside a ruined church near the village of Kefalá.

ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΑ
ΙΣΤΡΙΑΝΑ

IV.

On a piece of marble inside a ruined church, half-way between the villages of Andemáki and Kefalá.

ΑΥΡΗΛΙΑΕΙΡΗΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ

V.

On a votive altar lying in a garden near the town of Cos.

ΕΙΡΗΝΑΙ
ΟΥΤΟΥ
ΜΑΚΑΡΙΝΟΥ
ΙΗΝΩΝΟΣΤΟΥΣΩΠΑΤΡΟΥ
ΚΑΙΕΥΨΥΧΙΑΣΤΑΣΙΗΝΩΝΟΣ
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ

VI.

On a votive altar in the same garden.

ΑΓΙΩΝ
ΑΓΟΛΛ
ΟΔΩΡΟΥ
ΑΛΕΞΑ
ΝΔΡΕΥ
Χ ΑΙ ΡΕ

VII.

On a votive altar in the same garden.

ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΣΤΟΥ
ΤΟΥΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΟΥΖΗ

VIII.

On a votive altar in the same garden.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥΤΟΥ
ΦΙΛΩΝΙΔΟΥ

IX.

On a votive altar in the same garden.

ΓΟΠΧΙΟΥΑΟΥΙΑΝΙΟΥ
ΜΑΡΚΟΥΥΙΟΥΡΟΥΦΟΥ

X.

On a large square block of marble built in a fountain at Pyle.

ΥΚΛΕΙΤΟΣΦΙΛΩΝΟΣ
ΕΝΟΚΛΗΣΓΑΤΑΡΕΩΣ
ΣΕΙΜΑΚΗΣΞΕΝΟΚΡΑΤΕΟΣ
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΘΕΜΙΣΧΑΡΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ
ΜΕΛΑΝΘΟΣΑΝΔΡΟΜΕΝΕΟΣ
ΙΚΩΝΝΙΚΑΡΧΙΛΑΙ
ΓΡΟΝΤΙΦΑΝΙΙΣΦΙΑΩΝΟΣ

XI.

On a slab of marble built in the same fountain.

I S 9 2
ΑΦ 4 Ε ΙΜΑΑΝΑ
ΚΑΙΝΗΣΘΗΝΠΑΡΟΥΣΑ
ΛΗΓΗ

XII.

In a ruined church in the village of Pyle.

ΙΗΝΟΦΙΛΠ
ΧΕΗΣ‾FΜΑΙΠ

XIII.

On a small marble base (of a column) inside the Acropolis of the ancient town, near Kefalá.

ΟΔΑΜΟΣΟΙΣΘΜΙΩΤΑΝ
ΤΟΣΑΜΑΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤΕΙ
ΒΜΝΑΜΑΣΕΝΕΚΑ

XIV.

On a square block of marble in the same place.

ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΚΑΙΕΥΤΑΞΙΑΟΙΣΤΡΑΙΩΝΟΣΤΑΝΣΙΑ
ΛΑΝΥΠΕΡΤΟΥΠΑΤΡΟΣΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣΤΟΥ·Β̄.
ΠΡΩΤΙΩΓΟΣΑΡΧΙΙΕΡΑΤΕΥΣΑΝΤΟΣΚΑΙΔΑ
ΜΑΡΧΗΣΑΝΤΟΣΚΑΙΠΡΗΓΙΣΤΕΥΣΑΝ
ΤΟΣΚΑΤΑΠΟΛΙΝΜΟΝΑΡΧΕΥΝ

XV.

On a votive altar inside a church near the village of Kefalá.

ΕΙΜΑΤΟΥΑΓΗ
ΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ
ΑΡΩΜΑΤΙΝΗΕ
ΤΗΣΔΑΜΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

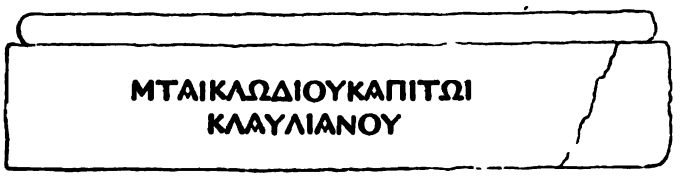
XVI.

On a large block of marble on the ancient site near Kefalá.

ΦΙΛΕΙΝΟΥ
ΤΟΥ
ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΥ

XVII.

On a base of a small marble column on the same site.



XVIII.

On a piece of architrave on the same site.

ΟΔΑΜΟΠΕΒᾹΕΤΟΙϹΘΕΟΙϹΤΟΒΑΜΑ

XIX.

Built in the wall of a house in the village of Kefalá.

XX.

On a small piece of marble among some modern ruins on the island called Paleo-nisi.

XXI.

On a square block of marble near an ancient site at Cape Andemáki.

XXII.

On a votive altar inside a church in the village of Andemáki.

ΑΓΑΟΩΝ
ΕΛΛΑΝΙΚΟΥ
ΕΚΑΤΑΙΑΣ
ΕΚΑΤΟΔΩΡΟΥ
ΚΛΕΟΝΙΚΗΣ
ΑΝΤΙΔΗΜΟΥ

XXIII.

Built in the walls of an old church near the castle of Andemáki.

ΛΑ . . ΝΩ ΟΕΥΔΩΡΟΣ
ΑΡΧΙΔΑΜΟΥ ΣΩΣΤΑΑΤΟΥ

XXIV.

On a square block of marble lying in the road between the town of Cos and village of Aspendu.

ΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ
ΟΥΕΥΟΔΟΥ
ΕΥΟΔΟΥΟΥ
ΓΕΙΣΥΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ

XXV.

On a square block of marble inside an old church near the town of Cos.

ΔΑΜΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ
ΤΟΥ
ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ

XXVI.

Over the door of the same church.

ΑΥΠΑ

XXVII.

On a square block of marble in the Acropolis of the ancient town, near Kefalá.

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑΚΑΙΣΑΡΑΟΚΕΣ ΙΑΕΙ
ΑΝΟΝΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝΑΡΧΙΕΡΗΙΔ ΙΝΑΡΧΙ
ΚΗΣΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΣΠΑΤΕΡΑΠΑΝ ΙΡΙΔΟΣΥΘΑ
ΤΟΝΤΟΠΕΜΠΤΟΝ
ΟΔΑΜΟΣ
ΟΙΣΘΜΑΙΩΙΤΑΝΥΚΑΘΙΕΡ ΩΙΣΕΝ

XXVIII.

On the same block, but a different side.

ΟΔΑΜΟΣΟΙΣΘΜΙΩ
ΤΑΝΕΤΙΜΑΣΕΝΓΙΜΑΙΣ
ΤΡΙΤΑΙΣΣΑΤΥΡΟΝΘΕ
ΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΥΣΙΑΤΡΟΝ
ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΧΡΥΣΕΩΙ
ΓΟΧΡΥΣΩΝΝΚΑΙΕΙ
ΚΟΝΙΧΑΛΚΗΑΡΕΤΑΣ
ΕΝΕΚΕΝΤΑΣΚΑΤΑΤΑΝΤ
ΧΝΑΝΚΑΙΕΥΝΟΙΑΣΤΑΣ
ΕΣΑΥΤΟΝ

XXIX.

On a small piece of marble in the same Acropolis.

ΝΙ . . ΟΜΑΧΗ
ΑΝΔΡΙΔΑ

XXX.

On a square block of marble in the same Acropolis.

ΟΧΔΟΤΑΑΙ . . ΗΡΣΛΞΓΣΤΟΛΕΔΑΚΡΥ
ΑΡΓΑΞΑΣΣΑΙΔΑΣΣΑΝΕΜΑΡΑΝΕΝΑΚΜΑΝ
ΣΥΝΚΕΧΥΤΑΙΓΕΝΕΤΑΣΔΕΓΟΣΕΙΔΙΓΓΟΣΚΛΥΤΟ-
ΝΕΡΝΟΣ
ΖΑΛΩΤΟΝΓΕΝΨΑΣΦΕΡΣΕΦΟΝΑΣΘΑΛΑΜΟΙΣ
ΑΡΤΙΧΝΟΥΝΓΟΝΕΩΝΕΛΓΙΔΑΓΗΡΑΛΕΗΝ

XXXI.

On a votive altar in a garden near the town of Cos.

ΓΛΥΚΙΝΝΑ
ΟΥΛΙΑΑΟΥ
ΑΛΔΔΑΝΑ

XXXII.

On a square piece of marble outside a church, Old Pyle.

ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗ
Ζ Κ Θ Τ Α

XXXIII.

Over the door of a ruined church in the village of Pyle.

Ι . . . ΚΑΤΑΙΟΣ
ΚΑΤΟΝΕΙΡΟ

XXXIV.

On a slab of marble inside a ruined church in the village of Pyle.

ΚΛΑΥΕΥΦΜΟ
ΕΥΝΗΗΚΑΛΙ.
ΕΥΝΟΙΚΝΕ
ΑΕΑΕΤΗΛ

ΤΩΑΓΑΘΩ
ΓΑΙΩΠΟΠΙ
ΟΥΤΩΔΕΕ
ΠΟΤΗΤΟΥ
ΕΝΡΑΘΡΙΚΟ
ΥΧΩΡΙΟΥΡΕ
ΘΑΔΕΚΕΙ
ΞΤΑΙ

XXXV.

In a ruined church in the village of Pyle.

ΔΗΜΩΚΟΤΤΙ
ΑΕ:ΕΤΩΝΠΙΕ

XXXVI.

On a square block of marble inside a church in the Acropolis of the ancient town, near Kefalá.

ΧΑΡΙΝ

XXXVII.

On a votive altar, inside the same church.

ΡΟΔΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ
ΤΗΣΓΡΩΤΕΑ
ΜΙΛΗΣΙΑΣ

XXXVIII.

On a piece of marble outside the same church.

ΟΔΑΜΟΣΟΣΟ ΑΚΚΑ:ΙΕΡΩΣΕ
ΣΕΑΑΣ

XXXIX.

On a small marble base in the Acropolis.

ΙΛΜΟΚΑΙΔΑΖ
ΜΕΔ.....ΡΙΔΔ

XL.

On a block of grey granite at an ancient site near Cape Andemáki.

XLI.

On a block of grey granite, the inscription surrounded by a civic crown, at the above place.

ZΩCIMOC
ZΩCIMY

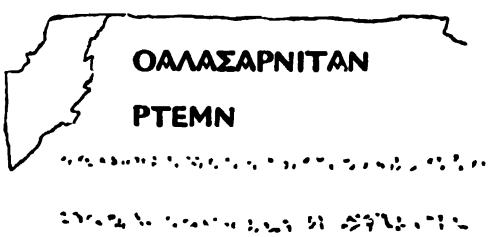
XLII.

On a large block of marble at the ancient site.

ΓΛΑΘΑΙΝΙΣ ΦΙΛΙΣΤΟΣ
ΛΕΩΝΙΔΑ ΕΚΑΤΩΝΥΜΟΥ

XLIII.

On a large block of blue granite at the same place. (The two last lines have evidently been defaced at a very early period.)



XLIV.

On a slab of marble inside a church in the village of Andemáki,—particularly well cut.

ΞΓΙΜΛΙΑΡΧΟΥΝΙΚΟΦΡΟΝΟΣΜΗΝΟ
ΛΡΤΛΜΙΤΙΟΥΕΔΟΞΕΤΟΙΚΟΙΝΩ
ΤΩΝΣΥΜ . ΟΡΕΥΟΜΕΝΩΝΓΛΡΛ
ΥΕΤΙΟΝΧΛΡΜΙΓΓΟΣΓΛΡΜΣΝ
ΚΛΙΦΙΛΙΣΤΟΣΦΙΛΙΣΟΥΙΩΛΧΧΚ
ΘΟΣΓΛΡΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΥΕΙΓΛΝΕΓ
ΔΗΝΙΚΛΓΟΡΛΣΟΕΥΔΩΡΟΥΚΛ
ΛΤΚΛΙΘΟΣΛΕΥΚΙΓΓΟΥΓΕΝΟΝ
ΝΟΙΕΓΙΜΗΝΙΘΙΛΥΤΕΓΛΓΓΞΛ
ΤΟΙΤΛΤΕΙΕΡΛΕΞΕΘΥΣΛΝΤΩ
ΔΙΙΚΛΙΛΝΕΝΕΩΣΛΝΤΟΤΛΝΘΥ
ΣΙΛΝΤΟΥΔΙΟΣΚΛΙΤΛΝΥΓΟΔΟΧΛ
ΤΟΗΩΝΤΟΤΩΝΔΛΜΟΤΛΝΚΛΚ
ΤΩΝΛΛΛΩΝΓΛΝΤΩΝΛΞΙΩΣΤΩ
ΘΕΩΝΣΓΟΥΛΛΣΚΛΙΓΡΟΘΥΜΙΛΣ
ΟΥΘΕΝΕΛΛΕΙΓΟΝΤΕΣΟΤΩΣΟΥΧΚ
ΛΙΜΕΤΛΤΛΥΘΛΙΡΟΥΜΕΙΝΟΕΕΓΙΜΙΝΙΟΓ
ΛΥΓΡΟΘΥΜΟΤΕΡΟΣΛΥΤΟΣΓΛΡΕΧ
ΤΛΙΞΙΛΟΤΕΣΤΛΝΤΩΝΔΛΜΟΤΛΝΞ
ΝΟΙΛΝΔΕΔΟΧΘΛΙΝΙΚΛΓΟΡΛΝΜΛ
ΚΛΙΛΥΚΛΙΘΟΝΕΓΛΙΝΕΣΛΙΞΓΛΤ
ΤΛΙΛΙΡΕΣΕΙΚΛΙΕΥΙΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΛΙΛΙ
ΧΟΝΤΙΓΟΤΙΤΟΣΘΕΟΣΚΛΙΤΟ
ΛΛΜΟΤΛΣΚΛΙΣΤΕΦΛΝΩΣΛ
ΤΟΣΛΓΟΧΡΥΣΩΝΔΕΚΛΤΟΝ
ΤΛΜΙΛΙΛΝΓΡΛΨΛΝΤΩΝΤΟΔΕ
ΦΙΣΜΛΕΣΣΤΛΛΛΝΛΙΘΙΝΛΝ . . .
ΛΝΛΘΕΝΤΩΝΓΛΡΤΟΝΛΟΜΟ . . . .
ΤΟΥΔΙΟΣΤΟΔΕΛΝΛΛΩΜ . . . . .
ΝΟΜΕΝΟΞΣΤΛΝΣΤΛΛΛΝΤΣ
ΣΛΝΤΩΝΤΟΙΤΛΜΙΛΙ

INSCRIPTIONS FROM APHRODISIAS AND NAZLI, TRANSCRIBED FROM THE ORIGINAL MONUMENTS IN THE YEAR 1813, BY MR. J. P. DEERING.

(Referred to, p. 233.)

I.

On a column of the Temple of Venus.

ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣΜΕ
ΝΑΝΔΡΟΥΤΟΥ
ΑΤΤΑΛΟΥΚΑΙ
ΑΤΤΑΛΙΣΜΕΝΕΚΡΑ
ΤΟΥΣΑΠΦΙΟΝΟΙΙΕ
ΡΕΙΣΤΗΣΑΦΡΟΔΕΙ
ΤΗΣ-ΘΕΑΑΦΡΟΔΕΙ
ΤΗΚΑΙΤΩΔΗΜΩΙ

II.

ΗΙΣΩΣΤΗΕΣΤΙΝΜΑΡΚΟΥΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ
ΤΟΥΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥΤΟΥΣΩΠΟΛΕΩΣΗΕΝΤΩΒΑΘΡΙΚΩ
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III.

ΛΑΙΑΣΔΙΑ
ΠΡΩΤΟΥΓΕΝΟΥΣ
ΔΕΙΑΙΚΑΙΗΘΕΙΧΡΗΣ!!!
ΚΕΚΟΣΜΗΜΕΝΟΝ · ΛΕ
ΓΟΝΤΑΚΑΙΓΙΑΣΣΟΝΤΑ
ΑΕΙΤΑΣΥΜΦΕΡΟΝΤΑΤΗ
ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ

IV.

On a marble well preserved.

ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΝΣΕΒΑΣ
ΤΟΝΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝΥΙΟΝ
ΤΟΥΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΥΚΑΙΘΕΙ
ΟΤΑΤΟΥΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ
ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣΛΟΥΚΙΟΥΣΕ
ΠΤΙΜΙΟΥΣΕΟΥΗΡΟΥ
ΠΕΡΤΙΝΑΚΟΣΣΕΒΑΣ
ΤΟΥΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣΑΡΑΒΙ
ΚΟΥΑΔΙΑΒΗΝΙΚΟΥ
ΠΑΡΘΙΚΟΥ
ΟΔΗΜΟΣ
ΕΞΑΠΟΛΕΙΨΕΩΣ
ΦΛΑΒΙΟΥΑΤΤΑΛΟΥΧ
ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΘΕΝΤΩΝ
ΑΜΜΙΑΝΟΥΤΟΥΠΑΠΙΟΥΓ̄
ΤΟΥΜΑΡΙΩΝΟΣΠΑΠΙΟΥ
ΚΑΙΕΠΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΟΥΥΙΟΥ
ΜΑΝΕΠΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΟΥΚΑΙ
ΠΑΠΙΟΥΓ̄ΤΟΥΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ
ΚΑΙΚΑΛΛΙΜΟΡΦΟΥΔΙΣΤΟΥ
ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥΚΑΙ
ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥΔΙΣΤΟΥΚΡΑ
ΤΕΡΟΥΑΡΧΟΝΤΩΝ

V.

ΤΟΝΡΗΤΟΡΑ
ΚΑΙΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΝ
ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑΤΑ
ΜΙΑΝΝΕΩΠΟΙ
ΟΝΚΤΙΣΤΗΝ
ΠΟΛΛΑΚΑΙ
ΔΙΑΣΥΝΗΓΟ
ΡΙΩΝΚΑΤΟΡ
ΘΩΣΑΝΤΑΤΗ
ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ

ΥΙΟΝΤΙΒΚΛ
ΖΗΛΟΥΑΡΧΙ
ΕΡΕΩΣΚΑΙΙΕ
ΡΕΩΣΤΗΣ
ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΣ
ΤΟΥΠΟΛΛΟΙΣ
ΚΑΙΜΕΓΑΛ°ΙΣ
ΕΡΓΟΙΣ
ΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝ
ΚΟΣΜΗΣΑΝΤΟΣ
ΤΗΝΠΟΛΙΝ

VI.

ΟΙΝΕΟΙ
ΗΣΑΝΤΑΙΣΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΑΙΣ
ΚΑΙΜΕΓΙΣΤΑΙΣΚΑΙΠΡΩΤΑΙΣΤΕΙΜΑΙΣ
ΑΔΡΑΣΤΟΝΝΕΙΚΟΤΕΙΜΟΥΤΟΥ
ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥΤΟΥΖΗΝΩΝΟΣΙΕΡΑΚΟΣ
ΥΙΟΝΝΕΩΝΑΝΔΡΑΜΕΓΑΝΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΝ
ΚΑΙΦΙΛΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΗΝΚΑΙΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝΚΑΙ
ΚΤΙΣΤΗΝΓΕΓΟΝΟΤΑΔΙΑΠΡΟΓΟΝΩΝ
ΤΟΥΔΗΜΟΥΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΤΕΥΣΑΝΤΑΤΩΝ
ΣΕΒΑΣΣΤΩΝΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΗΣΑΝΤΑΔΙΣ
ΔΡΑΚΤΟΙΣΕΛΑΙΟΙΣΕΠΙΡΥΤΟΙΣΑΝΕΛ
ΛΙΠΩΣΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΗΣΑΝΤΑΔΙΣ
ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΗΣΑΝΤΑΤΡΙΣΑΓΟΡΑ
ΝΟΜΗΣΑΝΤΑΤΕΤΡΑΚΙΣΚΤΙΣΤΗΝ
ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΣΑΝΤΑΠΛΕΟΝΑΚΙΣΥΠΕΡ
ΤΗΣΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΝΕΚΔΙ
ΚΟΝΔΗΜΟΣΙΩΝΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΩΝΠΕ
ΠΟΙΜΜΕΝΟΝΕΣΤΙΑΣΕΙΣΚΑΙΕΠΙΔΟ
ΣΕΙΣΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΠΟΛΥΤΕΛΕΙΣΔΙΑ
ΤΕΤΗΝΠΡΟΣΤΗΝΠΑΤΡΙΔΑΔΙΜΝΕΚΗ
ΕΥΝΟΙΑΝΚΑΙΔΙΑΤΗΝΠΡΟΣΤΟΥΣΝΕ
ΟΥΣΦΙΛΑΓΑΘΟΝΔΙΑΘΕΣΙΝΣΩΝΤΑ
ΠΡΟΣΥΠΟΔΕΙΓΜΑΑΡΕΤΗΣ
ΤΗΝΔΕΑΝΑΘΕΣΙΝΤΟΥΑΓΑΛΜΑΤΟΣΠΕ

ΠΟΙΗΣΘΑΙΤΟΥΣΝΕΟΥΣΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΕΠΙ
ΜΕΛΗΘΕΝΤΟΣΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΟΥΣΤΟΥΨΙΚΛΕΟΥ
ΦΥΣΕΔΕΕΡΜΟΥΤΟΥΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΩΣΤΩΝ
ΝΕΩΝΕΡΓΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΗΣΑΝΤΟΣΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΥ
ΤΟΥΑΡΤΕΜΩΝΟΣΚΡΟΚΙΩΝΟΣ

VII.

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ΤΑΕ ΕΝΑΥ
ΠΟΤΙ ΟΥΛΗΣΚΑΙ
ΤΟΥΔΗΜΟΥΜΑΡΧΟΥ
ΑΥΡΑΤΤΑΛΟΝΑΡΤΕ
ΜΙΔΩΡΟΥΠΕΝΤΑΙ
ΤΟΥΜΕΝΙΠΠΟΥΑΤ
ΤΑΛΟΥΑΝΔΡΑΤΩΝΕ:
ΓΕΓΟΝΟΤΩΝΑΠΟ
ΠΡΟΓΟΝΩΝΑΡΧΙΚΩΝ
ΚΑΙΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΩΝΤΕ
ΛΕΥΤΗΣΑΝΤΑΝΕΟΝ
ΤΗΝΗΛΙΚΙΑΝΤΗΝ
ΔΕΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΝΤΟΥ
ΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΟΣΕΠΟΙ
ΗΣΑΤΟΑΥΡΑΜΜΙΑΗ
ΜΗΤΗΡΑΥΤΟΥΑΝΑ
ΘΕΙΣΑΤΗΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΕ
ΒΟΥΛΗΕΙΣΑΙΩΝΙΟΥΣ
ΔΙΑΝΟΜΑΣΑΡΓΥΡΙ
ΟΝΚΑΘΩΣΔΙΑΤΗΣΑ
ΝΑΘΕΣΕΩΣΔΗ
ΛΟΥΤΑΙ

VIII.

On a pedestal in a church.

ΠΡΟΘΕΣΜΙΑ
ΚΛΗΡΟΥΜΗΝΙ
Ī Ī ψ

IX.

ΛΟΥΚΙΟΝΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΝ
ΛΟΥΚΙΟΥΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ
ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥΔΟΜΕΤΕ
ΝΟΥΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥΣΑΣ
ΕΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣΚΑΙ
ΝΟΜΟΘΕΤΟΥΥΙΟΝ
ΑΤΤΑΛΟΝΣΥΝΚΛΗ
ΤΙΚΟΝΤΟΝΕΥΕΡΓΕ
ΤΗΝΤΗΣΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ

X.

ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΝ
ΑΝΤΩΝΙΑΝ
ΤΑΤΙΑΝΗΝ
ΤΗΝΚΡΑΤΙΣ
ΤΗΝΑΝΕΨΙ
ΑΝΚΛΑΥΔΙ
ΩΝΔΙΟΓΕ
ΝΟΥΣΚΑΙΑΤ
ΤΑΛΟΥΣΥΝ
ΚΛΗΤΙΚΩΝ
ΤΗΝΕΝΠΑ
ΣΙΝΕΚΠΡΟ
ΓΟΝΩΝΕΥ
ΕΡΓΕΤΙΝΤΗΣ
ΠΟΛΕΩΣ
ΤΗΣΑΝΑΣΤΑ
ΣΕΩΣΤΟΥΑΝ
ΔΡΙΑΝΤΟΣΕΠΙ
ΜΕΛΗΘΕΝΤΟ
ΤΙ°ΚΛ° ΚΑ
ΠΕΤΩΛΕΙΝΟ

XI.

In a church.

ΩΝΑΖΗΝ
ΕΥΧΑΡΗΤΟΣΤΟ
Ω ΝΩΝΟΣΑΙΝΕΙΑΙ
ΓΕΝΟΥΣΚΑΙΑΞΙΩ
ΜΑΤΟΣΤΟΥΠΡΩ
ΤΕΥΟΝΤΟΣΕΝΤΗ
ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙΙΕΡΟ
ΝΕΙΚΗΝΠΛΕΙΣΤΟ
ΝΕΙΚΗΝΠΑΡΑΔΟ
ΞΟΝΠΑΛΑΙΩΤΗΝ
ΠΑΙΔΑ
ΜΕΝΕΣΘΕΥΣΑ
ΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥΤΟΥ
ΜΕΝΕΣΘΕΩΣΠΑ
ΠΟΥΙΣΟΒΟΥΝΟ-
ΑΡΧΙΝΕΟΠΟΙΟΣ
ΘΕΑΣΑΦΡΟΔΕΙ
ΤΗΣΤΟΝΣΥΝ
ΓΕΝΗΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙ
ΩΝΚΑΘΩΣΑΓΩ
ΝΟΘΕΤΩΝΥΠΕ
ΣΧΕΤΟ

XII.

ΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΥΤΑ
ΑΛΑΙΣΤΟΥΠΑΡΑΔ
ΑΙΛΙΟΣΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ
ΠΑΡΑΔΟΞΟΥΣΚΑΙΔΙΑΒΙΟΥΞΥΣΤΑΡΧΗΣ
ΤΩΝΕΝΚΟΛΩΝΕΙΑΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΑΑΓΩΝΩΝ
ΑΘΛΗΣΑΣΕΝΔΟΞΩΣΚΑΙΕΠΙΜΕΛΩΣΕΠΙΤΟ
ΤΟΥΤΟΝΔΟΞΗΣΠΡΟΕΒΗΩΣΠΡΩΤΟΝΜΕΝ
ΝΕΛΕΣΘΑΙΕΥΤΥΧΩΣΤΟΣΟΥΤΟΥΣΑΓΩ
ΑΣΚΑΙΔΟΞΑΣΑΙΚΑΘΕΚΑΣΤΟΝΑΓΩΝΑΤΗΝ
ΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΗΝΠΑΤΡΙΔΑΑΥΤΟΥΚΗΡΥΓΜΑ

ΙΝΚΑΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΙΣΜΑΛΙΣΤΑΔΕΚΑΙΕΠΙ
ΕΟΥΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΥΩΣΟΥΜΟΝΟΝΣΤΕ
ΟΗΝΑΙΤΑΙΣΕΚΕΙΝΟΥΧΕΙΡΣΙΝΑΛΛΑΚΑΙ
ΙΑΙΣΕΞΑΙΡΕΤΟΙΣΤΕΙΜΗΘΗΝΑΙΜΕΤΑΞΥ
ΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΣΞΥΣΤΑΡΧΗΣΤΟΣΑΥΤΗΠΡΟ
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ΣΗΣΚΗΔΕΤΑΙΤΩΝΗΜΕΙΝΔΙΑΦΕΡΟΝ
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ΟΜΕΝΟΣΕΝΗΜΕΙΝΚΑΙΔΙΑΤΑΥΤΑΚΑΙΑΛΛΟ
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ΕΣΤΟΝΑΝΔΡΑΚΑΙΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΥΝΤΕΣΑΥΤΩ
ΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑΤΟΙΣΚΥΡΙΟΙΣΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡ
ΙΝΠΕΠΟΜΦΑΜΕΝΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΙΜΕΓΙΣΤ
ΑΣΚΑΙΑΝΤΑΞΙΑΣΑΜΟΙΒΑΣΑΥΤΩΓΣΝΕΣ
ΑΙΑΝΤΙΤΗΣΠΕΡΙΗΜΑΣΕΥΝΟΙΑΣΚΑΙΟΤΙΔΑ
ΑΝΗΜΑΣΙΝΙΚΑΝΟΙΣΚΑΙΚΟΠΩΠΟΛΛΩΠΕΡΙ
ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟΚΑΙΔΙΕΠΡΑΞΑΤΟΑΧΘΗΝΑΙΤΟΝΕΝΑΓ
ΚΟΣΑΓΩΝΑΠΑΡΑΤΟΙΣΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΥΣΙΝΩΣΝΟΜΙ
ΖΕΙΝΗΜΑΣΟΙΚΟΘΕΝΠΑΡΑΥΤΟΥΑΝΗΡΗΣΘΑΙ
ΤΑΘΕΜΑΤΑΔΙΑΤΑΥΤΑΔΕΔΟΧΘΑΙΤΥΧΗΑΓΑΘΗ
ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΣΑΙΤΩΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΩΕΠΙΤΕΤΗΣΙΕΡΩ
ΤΑΤΗΣΒΟΥΛΗΣΚΑΙΤΟΥΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΟΥΔΗΜΟΥ
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ΤΕΙΜΗΣΑΙΤΕΑΥΤΟΝΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΩΝΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΕΙΚΑΙ
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XIII. A.

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XIII. B.

ΤΕΙΜΗΣΑΝΤΑ
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ΤΙΝΙΕΡΑΝΟΛΥΜΠΕΙΑΕΝΑΘΗΝΑΙΣΑΝ
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ΕΩΝΠΥΘΙΑΑΝΔΡΩΝΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΙΝ
ΡΩΝΗΝΚΑΠΕΤΩΛΕΙΑΟΛΥΜΠΙΑΑΝ
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ΕΩΝ

XIV.

ΕΠΙΖΗΝΩΝΟϹΤΟΥΥΨΙΚΑΕΟΥϹ
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ΚΛΕΟΥϹΤΟΥΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥΜΟΛΟϹϹΟΥ
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ΑϹϹΕΒΑϹΤΗϹΙΟΥΛΙΑϹΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΩϹΔΗ
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ΚΑΙΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑϹΕΠΟΗϹΑΤΟΕΙϹΤΗΝΠΟΛΙΝ
ΗΜΩΝΟΝΕΖΗΧΡΟΝΟΝ-ΤΟΔΕΠΕΡΙΑΥ
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ΚΑΙΕΚΤΟΥΤΩΝΕΙΝΑΙΤΟΦΙΛΟΠΟΛΙΑΥΤΟΥ
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XV.

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ΕΣΤΟΤΟΥΕΚΔΙΚΗΣΑΝΤΟΣΤΗΣΕΠΓΡΑΦ

XVI.

ΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝΚΑΙΤΟΕΠΑΥΤΟΟΙΚΟΔΟΜ-ΙΜΕΝ
ΟΥΕΣΤΙΝΗΚΑΘΟΔΟΣΕΝΠΡΟΣΘΕΝΠΡΟΣΜΕΣΗΜΒΡΙ
ΕΠΙΚΑΘΑΡΣΙΟΥΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΝΕΡΜΟΓΕΝ-ΙΣΜ-ΝΟΔΟΡΟ
ΔΩΡΟΥΤΟΥΔΕΜ-ΙΤΡΙΟΥΚΑΙΑΠΟΛΛΑΩΝΙΟΣΚΑΙΕΡΜΟΓΕΝ-ΙΣΚΑΙ
ΤΑΤΕΚΝΑΤΑΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΟΥΣΕΑΥΤΟΙΣΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΕΞΑΥΤΩΝΕΞΟΜΕΝΩΝ
ΕΚΓΟΝΟΙΣΚΑΙΔΙΑΔΟΧΟΙΣΑΥΤΩΝ-Μ-ΙΔΕΝΟΣΕΧΟΝΤΟΣΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΜ-ΙΔ
ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΩΝΗΔΙΑΔΟΧΩΝΑΥΤΩΝΕΞΑΛΛΟΤΡΙΩΣΑΙΜ-ΙΤΕΤΟΠΥΡΓΙΟΝΜΗ
ΤΕΤΟΥΠΑΥΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝΜΗΤΕΠΡΑΣΕΩΣΟΝΟΜΑΤΙΜ-ΙΤΕΣΥΝΧΩΡΗΣΕΩΣΕΠΕΙ
ΟΠΟΙΗΣΑΣΤΙΕΠΙΑΠΑΛΛΟΤΡΙΩΣΕΙΩΔΗΠΟΤΕΤΡΟΠΩΚΑΙΟΑΝΑΔΕΞΑΜΕΝΟΣ
ΕΝΟΧΟΣΕΣΤΑΙΑΣΕΒΕΙΑΚΑΙΕΙΣΟΙΣΕΙΕΚΑΣΤΟΣΑΥΤΩΝΕΙΣΤΟΝΚΥΡΙΑΚΟ-
ΝΑ ϡ ΜΥΡΙΑΩΣΕΚΚΑΤΑΔΙΚΗΣΩΝΤΟΤΡΙΤΟΝΕΣΤΑΙΤΟΥΕΚΔΙΚΗΣΑΝΤΟ
ΠΕΝΑΝΤΙΩΣΓΕΝΟΝΕΜΟΝΕΣΤΑΙΑΚΥΡΟΝΚΑΙΟΥΔΕΝΗΤΤΟΝΜΕΝΕΙΤΑΠ
ΜΕΝΑΕΙΣΤΑΚΑΘΩΣΙΩΜΕΝΑ·ΤΗΣΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΗΣΤΑΥΤΗΣΑΠΕΤΕΘΗΤ
ΤΙΤΥΠΟΝΕΙΣΤΟΧΡΕΟΦΥΛΑΚΙΟΝΕΠΙΣΤΕΦΑΝ-ΙΦΟΡΟΥΑΤΤΑΛΟΥΑΔ
ΤΟΥΝΕΙΚΟΤΕΙΜΟΥΗΡΩΟΣΤΟΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝΜ-ΙΝΟΣΔΕΙΟΥ

XVII.

ΟΔΗΜΟΣΕΤΕΙΜ-ΙΣΕΝ
ΚΑΙΠΟΥΝΝΙΟΝΠΑΥΛΕΙΝΟΝΚΑΙΦΛΑΒΙΑ
ΠΥΘΟΔΩΡΙΔΑΤΟΥΣΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΥ

XVIII.

ΗΣΟΡΟΣΚΑΙΤΟΠΕΡΙΑΥΤΟ
ΛΩΝΙΟΥΤΟΥΑΛΥΠΟΥΤΟΥΔΕ
ΝΙΟΣΤΡΙΣΤΟΥΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ

XIX.

ΗΕΙΣΩΣΤΗΕΣΤΙΝΜΑΡΑΥΡΖΗΝΩΝΟΣΤΟΥΤΟΥΡΒΩΝΟΣΤΟΙ
ΤΡΟΦΙΜΟΥΕΙΣΗΝΤΕΘΑΠΤΑΙΜΑΡΑΥΡΕΥΤΥΧΟΣΟΑΝΑΘΡΕΨΑ
ΜΕΝΟΣΑΥΤΟΝΚΑΙΟΥΣΑΝΒΟΥΛΗΘΗΟΣΗΝΟΝΕΑΝΔΕΤΙΣ
ΕΚΘΑΨΕΙΤΟΝΕΥΤΥΧΟΝ-ΕΤΕΡΟΝΕΝΘΑΨΕΙΧΩΡΙΣΤΗΣΓΝΩΜ-ΙΣ
ΤΟΥΖΙ-ΝΩΝΟΣΑΠΟΤΕΙΣΕΙΟΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΤΙΠΟΙΗΣΑΣΤΩΙΕΡΩΤΑ
ΤΩΤΑΜΕΙΩΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΥ ✕ ΧΕΙΛΙΑΩΝΤΟΤΡΙΤΟΝΕΣΤΑΙΤΟΥΕΓΔΙΚ
ΣΑΝΤΟΣΤ-ΙΣΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΗΣΑΓΕΤΕΘΗΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝΕΙΣΤΟΑΦΡΟΔΙ
ΣΙΕΩΝΧΡΕΟΦΥΛΑΚΙΟΝΕΠΙΣΤΕΦΑΝ-ΙΦΟΡΟΥΤΟΕΤΙΤΟΥΦΛ
ΑΙΡΕΟΥΜ-ΙΝΟΣΞΑΝΔΙΚΟΥ

XX. A.

ΙΟΝΚΑΤΑΝΕΛΛΙΠΩΣΣΠΛΕΙΣΤΑΠΑΡΕΣΧΗ
ΙΕΝΟΝΤΗΠΑΤΡΙΔΙΦΕΡΕΙΝΑΝΘΡΩΠΙΝΩΣ
ΙΗΝΣΥΝΒΕΒΗΚΥΙΑΝΣΥΝΦΟΡΑΝΕΠΙΤΩ
ΤΕΚΝΩΑΥΤΟΥΔΕΔΟΧΘΑΙΤΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙ
ΤΩΔΗΜΩΤΕΤΕΙΜΗΣΘΑΙΜΕΝΖΗΝΩΝΑ
ΚΑΛΛΙΟΥΤΟΥΖΗΝΩΝΟΣΤΟΥΕΥΔΕΝΟΥ
ΚΑΙΜΕΤΗΛΛΑΚΧΟΤΑΑΝΑΤΕΘΗΝΑΙΔΗ
ΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΑΣΚΑΙΑΓΑΛΜΑΤΑ
ΚΑΙΕΙΚΟΝΑΣΕΝΙΕΡΟΙΣΗΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΙΣΤΟ
ΠΟΙΣΥΠΟΚΑΛΛΙΟΥΤΟΥΠΑΤΡΟΣΑΥΤΟΥ
ΠΑΡΑΜΕΜΥΘΗΣΘΑΙΔΕΚΑΙΑΠΦΙΑΝΕΥ
ΔΑΜΟΥΤΟΥΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΥΤ-ΙΝΜ-Ι
ΤΕΡΑΤΟΥΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ

XX. B.

ΚΑΙΜΕΤΗΛΛΑΚΧΟΤΑΚΑΙΕΣΤ ΑΝΩΣΘΑΙ
ΚΑΛΛΙΑΝΥΙΟΝΚΑΛΛΙΟΥΤΟΥΖΗΝΩΝΟΣΤΟΥ
ΕΥΔΑΜΟΥΝΕΑΝΙΑΝΚΑΛΟΝΚΑΙΑΓΑΘΟΝ
ΤΗΝΑΝΑΣΤΡΟΦΙ-ΝΠΕΠΟΙΙ-ΜΕΝΟΝΕΝΑΡΕΤΟΙ
ΚΑΙΠΑΝΤΟΣΕΠΑΙΝΟΥΑΞΙΑΝΤΑΙΣΚΑΛΛΙΣ
ΤΑΙΣΚΑΙΜΕΓΙΣΤΑΙΣΤΕΙΜΑΙΣΑΝΑΤΕΘΙ-ΝΑΙ
ΔΕΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΑΣΚΑΙΑΓΑΛΜΑΤΑ

ΚΑΙΕΙΚΟΝΑΣΓΡΑΠΤΑΣΕΝΟΠΛΟΙΣΕΠΙΧΡΥ
ΣΟΙΣΕΝΙΕΡΟΙΣΚΑΙΔΙ-ΜΟΣΙΟΙΣΤΟΠΟΙΣΕΦΩΝ
ΚΑΙΕΠΓΡΑΦΙ-ΝΑΙΤΑΣΑΞΙΑΣΚΑΙΠΡΕΠΟΥ
ΣΑΣΚΑΙΑΝΑΛΟΓΟΥΣΑΣΤΩΓΕΝΕΙΚΑΙΤΗ
ΤΟΝΒΙΟΝΑΥΤΟΥΑΝΑΣΤΡΟΦΗΤΕΙΜΑΣΕΠΙ
ΓΡΑΦΙ-ΝΑΙΔΕΚΑΙΕΠΙΤΟΥΜΝ-ΜΕΙΟΥΕΝΩΤΕ
ΘΑΠΤΑΙΚΑΙΖΗΝΩΝΟΑΔΕΛΦΟΣΑΥΤΟΥ
ΤΑΣΑΞΙΑΣΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΑΣΑΥΤΩΠΑΡΑΜΕΜΥΘΗΣ
ΘΑΙΔΕΚΑΛΛΙΑΝΣΗΝΩΝΟΣΤΟΥΕΥΔΑΜΟΥ
ΚΑΙΑΠΦΙΑΝΕΥΔΑΜΟΥΤΟΥΜ-ΙΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΥ
ΤΟΥΣΓΟΝΕΙΣΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΕΥΔΑΜΟΝΚΑΛΛΙ
ΟΥΤΟΥΖΗΝΩΝΟΣΤΟΝΑΔΕΛΦΟΝΑΥΤΟΥ
ΦΕΡΕΙΝΑΝΘΡΩΠΙΝΩΣΤΟΣΥΝΒΕΒΗΚΟΣ
ΑΤΥΧΗΜΑ

XX. C.

ΤΗΛΛΑΚΧΟΤΑΔΕΔΟΧΘΑΙΤΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙ
ΤΩΔΗΜΩΤΕΤΕΙΜ-ΙΣΘΑΙΚΑΙΜΕΤΗΛΛΑΚ
ΧΟΤΑΕΥΔΑΜΟΝΚΑΛΛΙΟΥΤΟΥΖΗΝΩ
ΝΟΣΤΟΥΕΥΔΑΜΟΥΝΕΑΝΙΑΝΚΑΛΟΝ
ΚΑΙΑΓΑΘΟΝΖΗΣΑΝΤΑΚΟΣΜΙΩΣΚΑΙΣΩ
ΦΡΟΝΩΣΚΑΙΠΡΟΣΥΠΟΔΕΙΓΜΑΑΡΕΤΗΣ
ΤΑΙΣΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΑΙΣΚΑΙΜΕΓΙΣΤΑΙΣΚΑΙΑΞΙ
ΑΙΣΤΕΙΜΑΙΣΑΝΑΤΕΘΗΝΑΙΔΕΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙ
ΕΙΚΟΝΑΣΓΡΑΠΤΑΣΕΝΟΠΛΟΙΣΕΠΙΧΡΥ
ΣΟΙΣΚΑΙΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΑΣΚΑΙΑΓΑΛΜΑΤΑ
ΕΝΙΕΡΟΙΣΚΑΙΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΙΣΤΟΠΟΙΣΕ
ΦΩΝΚΑΙΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΙ-ΝΑΙΤΑΣΑΞΙΑΣΚΑΙΑ
ΝΑΛΟΓΟΥΣΑΣΤΩΓΕΝΕΙΑΥΤΟΥΤΕΙΜΑΣ
ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΙ-ΝΑΙΔΕΑΥΤΟΥΤΑΣΤΕΙΜΑΣ
ΚΑΙΕΠΙΤΟΥΜΝ-ΜΕΙΟΥΕΝΩΚΕΚΗΔΕΥ
ΤΑ . . . . ΑΜΕΜΥΘΗΣΘΑΙΔΕΚΑΛΛΙΑΝΖΗ
ΝΩΝΟΣΤΟΥΕΥΔΑΜΟΥΚΑΙΑΠΦΙΑΝΕΥΔΑ
ΜΟΥΥΙΟΥΜΕΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΥΤΟΥΣΓΟΝΕΙΣΑΥ
ΤΟΥ ΝΑΝΘΡΩΠΙΝΩΣΤΑΣΣΥΜΒΕΒΗ
ΚΥ ΟΙ ΜΟΡΑΣΕΠΙΤΟΙΣΤΕ
ΙΜ ΝΤΟΔΕΙΗΦΙΣΜΑΕΠΙΔΕ
ΔΟΞΟΜ ΣΑΜΕΝΟΥΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡ
ΟΥΤΟΥΜΕΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΥΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΔΟ

XXI.

ΤΗΤΟΥΑΓΩΝΟΣΧΡΕΙΑΕΥΤΡΕΠΙΖΕΙΝΚΑΙΔΗ
ΚΑΙΤΑΑΘΛΑΚΑΙΤΑΑΓΩΝΙΣΜΑΤΑΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΩΣ
ΝΟΘΕΤΗΣΕΙΔΕΤΟΝΠΡΩΤΟΝΑΓΩΝΑΦΛΑΒΙΟΣΕΥ
ΤΩΝΔΕΟΑΠΟΤΩΝΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΟΥΤΟΥΔΙΟΤΕΙΜΟΥ
ΟΝΤΟΣΕΤΟΥΣΡΕΡΙΜ-ΝΑΕΚΤΟΝΠΡΟΤΗΣΕΙΣΡΩΜ-Ν
ΤΟΣΟΑΓΩΝΤΑΑΘΛΑΔΙΑΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΑΕΝΤΗΤΟΥΚ
ΜΥΡΙΩΝΔΙΣΧΕΙΛΙΩΝΕΞΑΚΟΣΙΩΝΠΡΟΝΟΟΥΜΕΝΩ
ΚΑΣΕΝΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΩΝΤΟΥΤΕΙΕΡΕΩΣΤΗΣΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ
ΥΠΕΡΤΟΥΤΟΥΤΗΣΥΝΟΔΩΕΠΙΣΤΕΛΛΕΙΝΗΔΗΚΑΙΚΑΙΑ
ΑΓΩΝΑΥΠΕΡΤΗΣΤΟΥΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΥΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣΚΟΜΜΟ
ΚΑΙΕΙΣΑΙΩΝΑΔΙΑΜΟΝ-ΙΣΕΠΙΤΕΛΕΣΘΗΣΟΜΕΝΟΝΤΗΩΡΙΣΜΙ
ΟΝΔΕΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥΑΔΡΑΣΤΟΥΑΓΩΝΑΩΣΔΙΑΤΕΤΑΚΤΑΙΧ
ΡΙΑΥΤΟΝΓΙΝΟΜΕΝ-ΙΣΗΟΛΙΓΩΡΙΑΣΗΕΝΔΕΙΑΣΕΠΙΜ
ΕΝΤΩΝΕΣΤΩΤΙΜ-ΝΙΕΝΑΤΩΔΙΑΤΟΤΟΥΣΑΓΩΝΙΣΤΑΣ
ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΑΝΑΕΙΔΕΕΚΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΥΟΥΤΩΣΩΣΗΣΙΩ
ΔΕΠΟΛΕΙΤΙΚΟΣΑΓΩΝΕΧΕΙΤΟΝΙΔΙΟΝΚΑΙΡΟΝΜΕΤΑΤΟΥ
ΑΓΡΑΦΙ-ΝΠΕΠΟΙΗΜΕΘΑΤΩΝΑΘΛΩΝΚΑΙΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝΟ
ΣΥΝΤΕΤΑΓΜΕΝΟΣ
ΠΕΤΑ ΤΟΙΣΚΑΙΟΟΣΣΙΔΙΟΥΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥΑΓΩΝΟΜΕΤΑΤΟΝ
ΘΕΣΜΙΑΝΕΧΩΝΚΑΙΔΙΑΓΡΑΦΙ-ΝΤΗΝΕΝΤΑΙΣΔΙΑΘΗΚΑ
ΟΝΔΕΧΡΟΝΟΝΕΞΕΙΜΕΤΑΝΙΚΗΡΑΤΕΙΑΤΑΕΝΤΡΑ

ΟΣΤΕΤΡΑΚΙΤΑΤΙΑΝΟΥΑΓΩΝΟΥΔΕΠΩΤΩΝΧΡΗΜΑΤ
ΕΚΑΜΥΡΙΑΔΑΣΠΡΟΕΛΗΛΥΘΟΤΩΝΕΠΙΤΕΛΕΣΘ
ΛΛΑΙΟΝΣΥΝΕΛΘΗΩΣΤΟΚΟΦΟΡΕΙΝΛΟΙΠ
ΑΣΘΑΙΤΗΣΨΗΦΟΥΥΜΕΙΝΕΥΘΥΣΔΗΛΩΘΗΣ

ΓΩΔΩΝΜΟΝΩΝ	ΤΡΑΓΩΔΩΠΡΟΤΕΙΟΥ	.ϡ.Α.Φ̄.	
ΟΥΑΔΡΑΣΤΟΥ	ΔΕΥΤΕΡΕΙΟΥ	.ϡ.Χ.	
	ΤΡΙΤΕΙΟΥ	.ϡ.Τ̄.Ν̄.	

XXII.

ΑΓΩΝΟΣΤΑΛΑΝΤΙΑΙΟΥΦΛΑΒΙΟΥΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥΠΕΝΤΑΕΤΗΡΙΚΟΥ
ΜΟΥΣΙΚΟΥΜΟΝΟΥΘΕΜΑΤΑΤΑΥΠΟΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΑ

ΣΑΛΠΙΚΤΗ	.ϡ.Φ	ΧΟΡΑΥΛΗ	.ϡ.ΑΦ.	ΚΟΙΝ-ΙΚΩΜΩΔΩΝ	.ϡ.Σ̄.
ΚΗΡΥΚΙ	.ϡ.Φ.	.ΔΕΥΤΕΡΕΙΟΥ	.ϡ.Φ	ΚΟΙΝ-ΙΤΡΑΓΙΚΩΝ	.ϡ Σ̄.Ι
ΕΝΚΩΜΙΟΓΡΑΦΩ	.ϡ.ΨΝ.	ΧΟΡΩΤΡΑΓΙΚΩ	.ϡ.Φ.	ΚΑΙΝ-ΙΚΩΜΩΔΙΑ	.ϡ.Φ
ΠΟΙΗΤΗ	.ϡ.ΨΝ	ΧΟΡΩΚΙΘΑΡΕΙ	.ϡ.ΑΦ.	ΑΡΧΑΙΑΚΩΜΩΔΙΑ	.ϡ Τ Ν
ΠΥΘΑΥΛΗ	.ϡ.Α.	ΔΕΥΤΕΡΕΙΟΥ	.ϡ Φ	ΔΕΥΤΕΡΙΟΝ	.ϡ Ρ̄ Ν̄
ΔΕΥΤΕΡΕΙΟΥ	.ϡ.Τ̄.Ν̄.	ΚΩΜΩΔΩ	.ϡ.ΑΦ.	ΚΑΙΝ-ΙΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑ	.ϡ.ΨΝ̄
ΨΕΙΛΟΚΙΘΑΡΕΙ	.ϡ.Α.	ΔΕΥΤΕΡΕΙΟΥ	.ϡ.Φ	ΠΥΡΡΙΚΗ	.ϡ.Α.
ΔΕΥΤΕΡΕΙΟΥ	.ϡ.Τ.Ν.	ΤΡΙΤΕΙΟΥ	.ϡ Τ.	ΔΕΥΤΕΡΕΙΟΝ	.ϡ Τ̄ Ν
ΠΑΙΔΙΚΙΘΑΡΩΔΩ	.ϡ.Ψ.Ν̄.	ΤΡΑΓΩΔΩ	.ϡ.ΒΦ.	ΑΝΔΡΑΝΘΑΡΩΔΩ	
ΔΕΥΤΕΡΕΙΟΥ	.ϡ.Σ.Ν̄.	ΔΕΥΤΕΡΕΙΟΥ	.ϡ.Ω.	ΔΕΥΤΕΡΕΙΟΝ	
		ΤΡΙΤΕΙΟΥ	.ϡ Υ		

AT NAZLI.

I.

-ΙΙΓΛΥΚΥΤΑΤΗΙΠΑΤΡΙΔ
ΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΔΡΕΑΣΣΥΝ
-ΗΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ-ΚΛΘΕΟΔΩ
ΡΑΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΠΑΙΣΙΝ
ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΩ.ΑΝΔΡΕΑ
ΘΕΟΔΩΡΩΙ-ΤΟΥΣ
ΕΠΙΧΡΥΣΟΥΣΕΡΩ
ΤΑΣ°ΙΗ°ΚΑΙΤΑΣ°Β°
ΝΕΙΚΑCΣΥΝΤΑΙC
ΒΑΣΕΣΙΝΕΚΤΩΝ
ΙΔΙΩΝΑΝΕΘΗΚ-

II.

ΣΑΜΙΑΔΗΣ
ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡ°Υ
ΙΑΤΡΟΣΓΕΝΟ
ΜΕΝΟΣΑΡΙΣΤΟΣ
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝΤΟ
Τ¯ΜΕΝΟΣΚΑΙ
ΤΑ!ΙΕΡΑΣΚΛΗ
Π ΟΝ ΑΙΜΛΙΓ

INEDITED INSCRIPTIONS.

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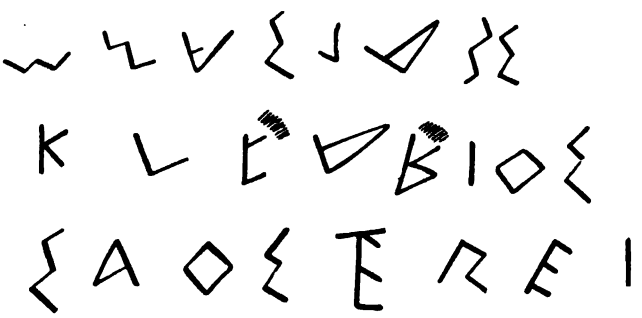
I.

From Palea in Cephallenia.



II.

At Stowe, from whence uncertain.

ΚΑΙΜΕΤΑΛΛΑΟΦ
ΝΟΝΞΙΦΟΣΥΙΕ
ΟΣΗΡΚΕΣΑΠΤΗ
ΚΤΕΙΝΑΔΑΧΙΛ
ΛΗΑΓΗΡΑΟΣΕΥ
ΦΡΑΔΙΗ
ΕΣΔΕΚΑΤΟΝΔΕ

ΚΡΑΤΗΣΑΤΩΝ
ΕΛΛΗΝΩ
ΕΝΙΑΥΤΟΙ
ΠΡΟΣΔΕΜ
ΤΟΝΜΟΙΡ
ΟΥΤΙΣΕΧΕ
ΔΥΝΑΣΙΝ

Note referring to a passage in the Rev. Dr. NOLAN'S *Paper 'On the Grecian Rose,' in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature,* vol. II. p. 327. *By* GRANVILLE PENN, Esq.

CANTICLE, or SONG OF SOLOMON, chap. ii. verses 1, 2, 3.

AUTHORISED TRANSLATION.

1. " I *am* the rose of Sharon, *and* the lily of the valleys.
2. " As the lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters.
3. " As the apple-tree among the trees of the wood, so is my beloved among the sons."

The same verses will be more correctly translated thus:

1. " *I am* the ground-rose of Sharon; *she,* the lily of the valleys.
2. " As the lily among the thorns, so is my love among the daughters.
3. " As the apple-trees among the trees of the wood, so is my beloved among the sons."

The word rendered '*rose,*' in the authorised translation of our common version, does not (as Dr. Nolan justly observes) mean the '*rose*' (*rosa*), but the curious plant *anastatica* (ἀναστατικὸς, exsuscitativus), or, *reviving ground-plant,* called by that name from its property of reviving in water, after many years' decay, and being apparently dead. It is com-

monly called '*Rose of Jericho.*'—Compare Miller's 'Gardener's Dictionary,' by Professor Martyn, art. '*Rosa.*'[1]

[1] [The reader will find, in the work referred to, some mention of that emblematical character of this interesting little flower, which is the point to which the above critical remarks are chiefly designed to lead.

The plant having been brought under Mr. Penn's notice, with a particular view to its peculiar property of reviviscence, and to the local associations connected with it, as '*The Rose of Jericho,*' or '*The Rose of Palestine,*' he was induced, he says, to turn to the passage in the Canticle of Solomon, in which the similar expression of '*The Rose of Sharon*' occurs. He found, on referring to the text in the various versions in Walton's Polyglot, that the terms employed in that passage had no reference at all to our rose; being, for the most part, equivalent to '*flos campi,*' '*flos abietum;*' in the Septuagint ἄνθος τοῦ πεδίου. What the exact flower was, which Solomon had in view, remained uncertain; but it forcibly struck Mr. Penn, that the local and emblematic peculiarities of the *anastatica,* rendered it a likely figure to be employed by the sacred poet. On examining the first of the three verses cited, which in our version has the conjunction '*and*' introduced, to unite the two figures, '*The rose of Sharon*' and '*The lily of the valleys,*' in its two clauses, as applying to one and the same individual, he discovered that the text has no conjunction expressed in the Hebrew or other learned versions. Hence he considered, that these figures were used in *antithesis;* that they were predicated of *two* different individuals; the *one* as an emblem of the sacred *bridegroom,* the other of his *bride* (the church); consequently, instead of the conjunction '*and,*' he supposes the pronoun '*she*' to be understood: "*I* am *the ground-rose of Sharon;* she (*my bride*) *the lily of the valleys.*" And this reading appears to be supported by the two verses which follow; in the first of which the bridegroom again compares his bride to the lily; and in the next, the bride compares the bridegroom to the apple-tree among the trees of the wood; the 'flower of the plain,' with its wonderful properties of resuscitation and perennial freshness, and the 'lily of the valley,' with its modest sweetness and beauty, being employed by the sacred and prophetic poet as fit emblems to represent the heavenly bridegroom and his holy bride. It would also appear, in support of such a reading of the passage, that it is more probable that the

bridegroom should compare his bride to the 'lily of the valley,' than that she should liken herself to so sweet and graceful an emblem of feminine loveliness: in no other part of the Canticle does the church speak in similar terms, of herself; but every comparison of beauty is applied to her, by her spouse, and she in like manner applies to him every figure, by which she can express her admiration—but never to herself.]

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